

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

WITH
NOTES, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL.

BY T. SMOLLETT, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. AND OTHERS.

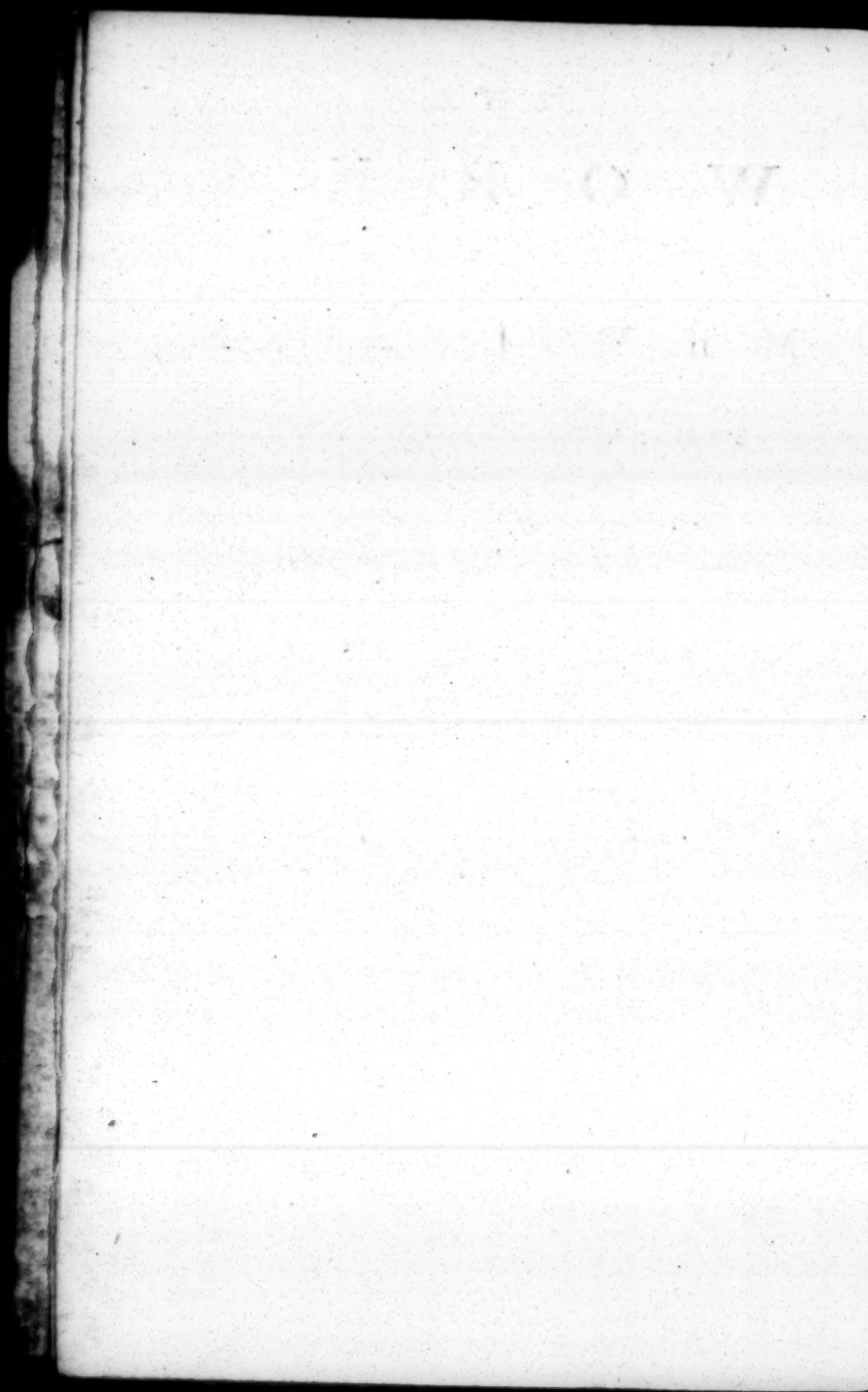
IN TWENTY-FOUR VOLUMES.



VOLUME II.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED BY R. MARCHBANK,
FOR R. MONCRIEFFE IN CAPEL-STREET.
M, DCC, LXXII.





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A N T I E N T



A N D

MODERN HISTORY.

C H A P. XLII.

OF FREDERIC II. and his quarrels with the POPES
and the GERMAN EMPIRE.

TOWARDS the beginning of the thirteenth century, while Philip Augustus was still upon the throne, while Lewis VIII. was stripping John Lackland of his dominions; and that, after the death of John and Philip Augustus, Lewis, driven from England by Henry III. left him that kingdom, and returned to reign in France; during this time, I say, the crusades or persecutions against the Albigenses were exhausting Europe. The emperor Frederic II. made the wounds of Italy and Germany, which were not yet well closed, bleed a-fresh. The dispute between the imperial crown and the Roman mitre, the factions of the Guelphs and Gibellines, and the animosities between the Germans and Italians, disturbed the public peace more than ever. Frederic II. who was son to Henry VI. and

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nephew

nephew to Philip, enjoyed the empire, which his competitor Otho IV. had resigned before his death.

The emperors were at that time much more powerful than the kings of France; for, besides Suabia, and the other large territories which Frederic had in Germany, he was also in possession of Naples and Sicily by inheritance. Lombardy belonged to him in right of the long possession of former emperors; but that right was little regarded by the Italian cities, who were become enthusiasts in their notions of liberty. At that time Germany was in a state of anarchy and rapine, which lasted for a considerable time; and this latter was grown to such an height, that the great lords reckoned as a part of their privileges to be robbers on the highways in their own territories, and to coin false money: but Frederic II. at the diet of Egra, held in 1219, obliged them to take an oath never to exercise such privileges for the future; and to set them an example, he gave up the right which had always been claimed by his predecessors, of taking possession of the estates of all bishops at their demise.

The most brutal and ridiculous customs were established in those times. The lords had set up a number of imaginary rights, and, among the rest, that of prelibation, by which they claimed the first night's lodging with the new-married bride of their menial vassals. The bishops and abbots claimed the same right, as being great barons; and some of them have, even in the last century, obliged their subjects to pay them an acknowledgment for remission of this unaccountable privilege, which spread over the provinces in Scotland and France. Such were the prevailing manners in the times of the crusades.

Italy was indeed not quite so plunged in barbarism, but it was not less unhappy. The quarrel between the empire and the pontificate had given birth to the factions of the Guelphs and Gibellines, which divided whole cities and families.

Milan, Brescia, Mantua, Vicenza, Padua, Trevisi, Ferrara, and almost all the cities of Romania under the protection

protection of the pope, had combined together against the emperor.

He had for him Cremona, Bergamo, Modena, Parma, Reggio, and Trent. A great many other towns were divided between the parties of the Guelphs and Gibelines. Thus Italy became the theatre not of one war only, but of an hundred civil wars, which, by inflaming the minds, and exciting the resentment of the Italian potentates, accustomed them but too much to the horrid practices of poisoning and murder.

Frederic II. was born in Italy : he had a great fondness for that agreeable climate, and, on the contrary, could not bear either the country or the manners of Germany, from which he was absent fifteen whole years. It appears plainly that his chief design was to fix the throne of the new Cæsars in Italy. This is the true secret of all the quarrels he had with the popes, in which he by turns employed both cunning and violence; and the holy see on its part took care to fight him at his own weapons.

Honorius III. and Gregory IX. being unable to resist him at first, wisely resolved to keep him at a distance, and sent him upon a war to the Holy Land. Such was the prejudice of those times, that the emperor was obliged to make a vow of engaging in this expedition; for fear the people should think him not a Christian. But as policy had determined him to make this vow, the same policy furnished him with 1228 means for deferring his voyage.

Gregory IX. thereupon excommunicated him, agreeable to the custom of those times. Upon this Frederic sets out, and, while he is making a crusade at Jerusalem, the pope engages in another against him at Rome. The emperor, after making a treaty with the sultans, returns to defend himself against the machinations of the pontiff, and, in the territories of Capua, meets with his own brother-in-law, John of Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem, at the head of a body of troops furnished by the pope, who bore on their shoulders, as a badge, the two cross-keys. The Gibelline party, who were with the emperor, wore the sign of the cross; an engage-

ment ensued, in which the crosses soon put the keys to flight.

Gregory had now no other resource left, but to stir up Frederic's son Henry, king of the Romans, against his father; as his predecessors Gregory VII. Urban II. and Pascal II. had done by the sons of Henry IV.

1235 But Frederic, more fortunate than Henry IV. made himself master of the person of his rebellious son, deposed him at the famous diet of Mentz, and condemned him to perpetual imprisonment.

Frederic, however, found it an easier matter to get his son condemned by this Germanic diet, than to prevail on it to grant him either money or troops to make the conquest of Italy. He had still forces sufficient to make the war bloody in that country, but not to enslave it altogether; the Guelphs, who were of the pope's party, and the great sticklers for liberty, being always sufficiently powerful to counterbalance the Gibellines, who were on the side of the emperor.

Sardinia became another subject of war between the empire and the pontificate; this naturally produced an excommunication; however, in 1238, the emperor made himself master of almost the whole of that island. Then Gregory publicly accused him of unbelief; "We have proofs, said he in his circular letter of July 1st, 1239, that he has publicly declared, that the world has been cheated by three impostors, Moses, Jesus Christ, and Mahomet; but he makes Jesus Christ far inferior to the other two; they, says he, having lived in splendor and glory, whereas the other was a person sprung from the dregs of the people, and preached his doctrines only to those of his own rank. The emperor, continues Gregory, maintains, that the one only God, creator of the universe, could not be born of a woman, especially of a virgin."

These accusations, which had nothing to do with the quarrel about Sardinia, did not hinder the emperor from keeping what he had gotten possession of: the disputes between Frederic and the see of Rome were never on religious points; and yet the popes thundered out their excommunications against him, waged a kind of religious

ous

ous war upon him, and at length deposed him. A cardinal called James, who was bishop of Palestine, brought letters with him into France, from this pope Gregory to young Lewis IX. whereby his holiness, having deposed Frederic II. does, by his own private authority, transfer the imperial crown to Robert, count of Artois, brother to the young king of France. Gregory certainly took a wrong time for this embassy; France and England were then engaged in war with each other, and the French barons, who were up in arms in the minority of Lewis, were still very powerful, though he was now come of age. They are said to have declared, in answer to Gregory's offer, that they did not think the brother of a king of France had any occasion for the imperial crown; and that they looked upon the pope to have still less religion than Frederic himself. But such a reply sounds too improbable to be true.

Nothing can give us a better idea of the manners and customs of those times, than what passed in regard to this proposal of the pope.

He applied to the monks of the abbey of Citteaux, whither he knew St. Lewis was to come with his mother on a pilgrimage, in these terms: "Beseech the king that he will take the pope under his protection against that son of Satan, Frederic; the king ought to receive me into his kingdom, in the same manner as my predecessor Alexander III. was received there when persecuted by Frederic I. and St. Thomas of Canterbury, when troubled by Henry II. of England."

The king came to Citteaux, where he was received by five hundred monks, who conducted him to the chapter; there they all fell on their knees before him, and, with uplifted hands, beseeched him to permit the pope to come into France. Lewis placed himself likewise on his knees before the monks, and gave them his solemn promise to defend the church; but at the same time told them in plain terms, that he could not receive the pope into his kingdom, without the concurrence of his barons, whose advice a king of France ought always to follow. In the interim Gregory died; but the spirit of the Roman church survived him: Innocent IV. who,

when cardinal, was a friend to the emperor Frederic, being now made pope, became of consequence his enemy, and at all events determined to weaken the imperial power in Italy, and by that means repair the error which pope John XII. had been guilty of, in calling the Germans over to Rome.

Innocent IV. after several fruitless negotiations, calls the famous council of Lyons, 1245 which has the following inscription, yet to be seen in the Vatican library: "The thirteenth general council, and the first of Lyons; here Frederic II. was declared an enemy to the church, and deprived of the imperial diadem."

It may seem a bold attempt to dethrone an emperor in one of the imperial cities; but the city of Lyons was under the protection of France, and its archbishops had seized upon the royal revenues. Frederic did not neglect to send proper advocates to plead his cause before this council, where he knew he was to be accused.

The pope, who had made himself judge, and presided at this council, acted also the part of his own advocate; and, after insisting strongly on the right of temporalities in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the patrimony left by the countess Matilda, he proceeded to accuse Frederic publicly of having made peace with the Infidels, of having had several Mahometan concubines, of not believing in Jesus Christ, and, in fine, of being an heretic. But how can a person be at the same time an unbeliever and an heretic? and indeed how was it possible for men in those times to be capable of drawing up such charges? John XII. Stephen VIII. Frederic I. Frederic II. the chancellor des Vignes, Manfred, the usurper of Naples, and several others, had undergone the same imputations.

The emperor's delegates spoke in his defence with a becoming resolution, and accused the pope in their turn of usury and rapine. There were also at this council ambassadors from France and England; these complained as much against the popes as the pope had done of the emperor: "You and your Italians, said they, draw up-
wards

wards of sixty thousand marks a year from the kingdom of England; it is but very lately that you sent us a legate, who has disposed of all the livings in the kingdom in favour of Italians: he raises the most exorbitant taxes upon all religious houses, and excommunicates whomsoever complains of his oppressions. Let these grievances therefore be speedily redressed, for we will no longer bear with them."

The pope blushed at this spirited harangue, but made no reply; and proceeded to pronounce sentence of deposition against the emperor. It is well worthy of observation, that he pronounced this sentence not, as he said, with the approbation of the council, but in presence of the council; all the fathers kept the wax-tapers lighted while the pope was pronouncing the sentence, and then extinguished them; one party signed the decision, and the other went out sighing with indignation.

The emperor was then at Turin, which did not at that time belong to the house of Savoy, but was a fief of the empire, and governed by the marquis of Susa. Upon receiving the news of his deposition, he called for a certain casket, and opening it, drew forth the imperial crown; which holding in his hand, "The pope and his council, said he, have not yet taken thee from me, and ere they can, much blood shall be spilt." He immediately afterwards set about writing circular letters to all the princes of Germany, and the rest of the empire: these letters were dictated by the famous chancellor Peter des Vignes, who was so strongly accused of having written the book of the Three Impostors.

"I am not the first prince, said he in these letters, whom the clergy have treated with such indignity, nor shall I be the last; you are the causes of it, by paying obedience to these hypocrites, whose boundless ambition you are sufficiently acquainted with. How many infamous actions, shocking to modesty, might you, if you were willing, discover in the court of Rome? Slaves to the times, and intoxicated with pleasures, the greatness of their riches and power

seems to have stifled in them all sense of religion. It is a deed of charity to strip them of a part of this load of pernicious wealth which bows them down to ruin ; and herein it is your duty to join your endeavours to mine, &c."

The pope in the mean time having declared the empire vacant, wrote to several princes and bishops ; namely, the dukes of Bavaria, Saxony, Austria, and Brabant ; the archbishops of Saltzburg, Cologne, and Mentz. This has given room for the supposition that seven electors were then solemnly established ; but the other bishops and princes of the empire each laid claim to the same right.

Thus did the emperors and the popes mutually endeavour to depose each other ; and their grand policy consisted in raising civil wars.

Conrad, son to the emperor Frederic, had been already elected king of the Romans in Germany, but in compliance with the pope it now became necessary to elect a new emperor ; but neither the dukes of Saxony, of Brabant, Bavaria, or Austria, nor yet any other prince of the empire, was concerned in this election, the new emperor being chosen entirely by the bishops of Strasburg, Wirtzburg, Spire, and Metz, with those of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne. The person they made choice of was a landgrave of Thuringia, who was stiled *King of the Priests*.

What a strange kind of an emperor had Rome now gotten ! a landgrave who received the crown only from a few bishops of his own country. The pope now renewed the crusade against Frederic ; it was proclaimed by the preaching friars, now called Dominicans, and the minor friars, now called Cordeliers or Franciscans. This new militia of the popes began about this time to be established in Europe ; the holy see did not however confine itself to these measures, but engaged in conspiracies against the life of an emperor, who had dared to resist the decree of a council, and oppose the whole body of monks and crusaders ; at least we know, that the emperor complained of the pope's having countenanced plots

plots against his life, and that the pope never made any reply to these complaints.

The same prelates who had taken the liberty of creating one emperor, made another after the death of their Thuringian; this was a count of Holland. Thus the pretensions of Germany to the Roman empire, served only to tear it in pieces. These very bishops, who had joined in assuming the power of electing emperors, now fell out among themselves; and their count of Holland was slain in a civil war.

Frederic II. was obliged to struggle with the popes from the farther end of Sicily to the extremity of Germany. It is said, that when 1249 he was in Apulia, he discovered that his physician, who had been seduced by pope Innocent IV. had formed the design of poisoning him. This fact appears doubtful to me; but in all the doubts raised by the history of these times, the only question is concerning the greater or less degree of atrocity.

Frederic, seeing with horror that it was impossible for him to trust with safety his life in the hands of Christians, was obliged to take Mahometans for his guard. It is said, however, that these could not secure him against the furious revenge of Manfred, one of his bastards, who strangled him in his last illness. However that be, this great and unhappy emperor, who was king of Sicily from his cradle, having worn for thirty-eight years the empty crown of Jerusalem, and the imperial diadem fifty-four, (he having been declared king of the 1250 Romans in 1196) died at the age of fifty-seven, in the kingdom of Naples, and left the world in as great confusion at his death as it was at his birth. Notwithstanding all the troubles he had to struggle with, he left his kingdoms of Naples and Sicily greatly embellished and improved by his care; he built towns, founded universities, and gave a kind of new life to learning. The Italian language, which was a compound of the Roman † and Latin, began first to

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take

† The *Romance*, which is the same, we suppose, our author calls the *Roman Tongue*, was no other than a corrupted Latin, mixed

take a form in his reign; and there are verses of his extant, in that tongue. But the numberless vexations and oppositions he had to encounter, did as much prejudice to the growth of the liberal sciences, as they did to his great and useful designs.

From the death of Frederic II. to the year 1268, Germany remained without a head, but not in the same manner as Greece had been, or antient Gaul, or antient Germany, or Italy before it became subjected to the Romans; Germany was neither a republic, nor a country divided between several sovereigns, but a body without a head, whose members tore each other in pieces.

This distracted state of Germany furnished a fine opportunity for the popes to have embraced, but they neglected it, and even suffered the loss of Brescia, Cremona, Mantua, and several other small towns. There wanted now a warrior pope to recover these again, but few of the pontiffs were of that character: they shook the whole world indeed with their bulls, and disposed of kingdoms at their pleasure. In 1247 the pope, of his own pure authority, proclaimed Haquin king of Norway, and made him legitimate, who was born a bastard; one of his legates crowned this new monarch, and received from him a tribute of fifteen thousand marks of silver, and five hundred more of the churches of Norway, which, in all probability, was at least one half of the money then circulating, in so poor a country.

This same pope Innocent IV. created
 1251 likewise one Mandoc king of Lithuania, but he was to hold his crown as dependent on the see of Rome: "We receive, said his holiness in his bull, dated the 15th July, 1251, this new kingdom of Lithuania, as the right and property of St. Peter, taking

mixed with the language spoken by the Barbarians who deluged the empire. It was also called *Provençal*, because used in Provence; and some specimens of it are still extant; particularly a copy of verses by Richard Cœur de Lion, published in Mr. Walpole's Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors.

taking you, your wife and children, under our protection." This was in some manner imitating the grandeur of the old Roman senate, which was wont to bestow the titles of kings and tetrarchs. Lithuania was not however a kingdom, nor was it till near a century after, that its inhabitants were prevailed on to embrace Christianity.

The popes then talked like masters of the universe, and yet were not able to be masters at home; the disposal of states cost them only paper, but they could not recover a single village near Mantua or Ferrara, without having recourse to intrigues.

Such was the situation of affairs in Europe; Germany and Italy were rent in pieces; France was yet feeble; Spain divided between the Christians and the Moors, which last were entirely driven from Italy; England began to dispute for liberty with its kings; the feudal government was every where established; chivalry was the prevailing fashion; priests were become princes and warriors, and a system of politics prevailed, different in almost every respect from that which at present influences the government of Europe. In fine, all the countries under the Roman communion seemed to form a large republic, of which the emperor and the popes wanted to be the head; and this republic, tho' divided, had for a long time agreed in the project of the crusades, which have given birth to such grand and infamous actions, to new kingdoms, new establishments, new miseries, and, in a word, have caused much more unhappiness than glory.

C H A P. XLIII.

Of the EAST, at the Time of the CRUSADES.

RELIGIONS always last longer than empires; Mahometanism continued to flourish after the empire of the caliphs had been overthrown by the Turcomans.

Turcomans. It is a needless trouble to search for the origin of these Turks; it is the same as that of all other conquering people, they were at first savages, living upon rapine. The Turks formerly inhabited a country beyond mount Taurus and the Imaus, and, as some say, a great distance from the Araxes: they were comprehended among those Tartars whom the ancients called by the name of Scythians. The great continent of Tartary, which is much larger than all Europe, has never been inhabited by others than Barbarians; and their antiquities are little more deserving of a regular history than the bears and wolves of their country. About the eleventh century they extended themselves towards Muscovy, and overran the borders of the Caspian and Black Sea. The Arabs, under the first successor of Mahomet, had subdued almost all Asia Minor, Syria, and Persia; at length the Turcomans came and subdued the Arabs.

A caliph of the line of the Abbassides, called Mo-tassem, son to the great Almamon, grandson of the famous Haroun Alraschid, and cotemporary with our Lewis the Debonnaire, being, like his predecessors, a protector and encourager of the arts, laid the first stone of that edifice, under which his successors were at length crushed. This prince sent for a body of Turkish militia to be his guard, and never was there a stronger example of the danger of introducing foreign troops; five or six hundred Turks, in the pay of Mo-rasssem, became the founders of the Ottoman power, which has swallowed up every other power from the Euphrates to the extremity of Greece; and in our time has even laid siege to the city of Vienna, the capital of the German empire. This Turkish militia growing in time more numerous, became at length fatal to its masters. A fresh body of Turks now came in, and took advantage of the civil war raised against the caliphs and their empire. The caliphs of Bagdat, of the race of the Abbassides, soon saw themselves stript of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, by the caliphs of the Fatimian line; and the Turks stript both of them.

Togrul

Togrul Beg, or Ortogrul Beg, from whom they make the Ottoman race to descend, entered Bagdat nearly in the same manner as the emperors have entered into Rome; and made himself master of the person and capital of the caliph Caiem, while he prostrated himself at his feet; he then conducted him to his palace, holding the reins of his mule: but having either better fortune or more skill than the German emperors when in Rome, he established his power, and left nothing more to the caliph but the office of beginning prayers every Friday at the mosque, and the empty honour of investing with their dominions all the Mahometan tyrants, who thought proper to make themselves sovereigns.

It should be remembered, that as the Turcomans imitated the Franks, the Normans, and the Goths, in their irruptions; they imitated them likewise in submitting to the laws, customs, and religion of the people they conquered. In like manner did other Tartars behave to the Chinese; and this is an advantage which every civilized people, though ever so weak, ought to have over Barbarians, though ever so strong.

Thus the caliphs became only the chiefs of religion, like the dairi or high-priest of Japan, who has the appearance of reigning in Cubosama, and indeed is obeyed in these dominions; or like the xerif of Meeca, who calls the sultan of the Turks his vicar; or lastly, such as the popes were under the kings of Lombardy: though I am far from intending to compare the throne of error to that of truth; I am only comparing the revolutions which have happened to each, and remarking that the caliphs were once the most powerful sovereigns of the East, while the Roman pontiffs were of little or no note. The empire of the caliphs however is now fallen beyond a possibility of recovery, and the popes are by little and little become mighty sovereigns, confirmed in their power, and respected by the neighbouring nations; and have made Rome one of the most beautiful cities in the world.

At the time of the first crusade, there was a caliph at Bagdat who bestowed investitures, and a Turkish
sultan

sultan who reigned. Several other Turkish usurpers, with some Arabians, had settled themselves in Persia, in Arabia, and in Asia Minor. Every thing was in a state of division, which seemed to promise success to the crusades; but then every one was up in arms, and these people were to be attacked in their own territories, where they must fight with the advantage greatly on their side.

The empire of Constantinople still maintained its authority; it had been governed by some princes not unworthy of reigning. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, son to Leo the Philosopher, and himself a philosopher, following the footsteps of his father, made his reign happy; and if the government fell into contempt under Romanus, the son of this Constantine, it became respectable again under the reign of Nicephorus Phocas, who recovered Candia in the year 961, before he became emperor. John Zimisces indeed assassinated this emperor, and stained the imperial palace with the blood of his sovereign: he even added hypocrisy to his other crimes; but then on the other hand he defended the empire against the invasions of the Turks and Bulgarians. But Michael Paphlagonatus lost Sicily, and Romanus Diogenes almost all that remained in the East, except the province of Pontus. That province, which is now called Turcomania, fell soon afterwards into the hands of Solyman the Turk, who now became master of the greatest part of Asia Minor, fixed the seat of his dominion at Nicea, from whence he threatened Constantinople with an invasion, at the time that the crusades were first set on foot.

The Greek empire then, on the side of the Turks, was almost confined to the imperial city, but it still extended through all Greece. Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Thrace, Illyricum, and even included the isle of Candia. The continual wars in which it was engaged against the Turks, though almost always unsuccessful, served to keep up the remains of courage in the people. All the rich Christians of Asia, who were unwilling to submit to the Mahometan yoke, had retired into the imperial city, which by these means became enriched with

with the spoils of the provinces. In short, notwithstanding the various losses it had sustained, notwithstanding the vices and revolutions among its governors, this city, though in its decline, yet immense, populous, opulent, and the centre of voluptuousness and pleasure, still considered itself as the capital of the world. The inhabitants no longer called themselves Greeks, but Romans; their state was a Roman state; and the western nations, whom they called Latins, were looked upon by them as a set of rebellious Barbarians.

Palestine was then what it is at present, the worst of all the inhabited countries of Asia. This little province, which is about forty-five leagues in length, and from thirty to thirty-five in breadth, is almost wholly covered with barren rocks, on which there is hardly an handful of earth: were it cultivated, it might be compared to Swisserland. The river Jordan, which in its broadest part is about fifty feet wide, resembles the Aar, which flows through a valley less barren than the rest of Swisserland; and the sea of Tiberias may be likened to the lake of Geneva. However, those travellers who have examined both these countries, all give the preference to Swisserland. It is not unlikely that Judea might have been better cultivated when in possession of the Jews; they were obliged to spread a little earth upon the face of the rocks, in order to plant their vines. This small quantity of earth, mixed with the splinters of the rocks, was supported by low walls, the remains of which are still to be seen at certain distances.

Notwithstanding all this care, Palestine could never furnish subsistence for its inhabitants; and as the thirteen cantons send out the superfluity of their people to serve in the armies of foreign princes, who are willing to take them into pay, in like manner the Jews all went abroad to follow the trade of brokers in Asia and Africa; and as soon as Alexandria was built, they settled there. The trading Jews hardly ever resided in Jerusalem; and I question whether, in the most flourishing times of this little state, it had any members so wealthy as the Hebrews who now live at Amsterdam and the Hague.

When

When Omar, who succeeded Mahomet, made himself master of the fruitful country of Syria, he took Palestine; and as the Mahometans look upon Jerusalem as an holy city, he embellished it with a magnificent mosque, built of marble, and covered with lead; the inside adorned with a prodigious number of silver lamps, among which there were many of pure gold. When the Turks, who had already embraced Mahometanism, afterwards made themselves masters of this country in the year 1055, they paid great respect to this mosque, and the city still continued peopled with seven or eight thousand inhabitants, which was the most its walls were then capable of containing, or the circumjacent country able to nourish. This people got their wealth almost entirely by the pilgrimages made to their city by the Christians and Mussulmans, the former to visit the holy sepulchre, and the latter the famous mosque. Every pilgrim paid a certain acknowledgment to the Turkish emir, who resided in the city, and something to the imans, who lived by shewing the curiosities of the place to those who were desirous of seeing them.

C H A P. XLIV.

Of the First CRUSADE, till the taking of JERUSALEM.

SUCH was the state of Asia Minor when a pilgrim of Amiens stirred up the crusades: he was then known only by the name of Coucoupetre, or Cucupietre, as we are told by the daughter of the emperor Comnenus, who saw this hermit at Constantinople: he is known to us by the name of Peter the Hermit. However, this man, who was a native of Picardy, and had all the obstinacy of his countrymen, was so incensed at the exactions, which he had met with at Jerusalem, talked of them at his return to Rome in such strong terms, and painted them forth in so striking a light, that
 pope

pope Urban II. thought him the most proper person he could pitch upon to second the grand design, which the popes had a long time conceived, of arming Christendom against the Mahometans: accordingly he dispatched Peter through all the provinces, to communicate, by the force of his strong imagination, the warmth of his sentiments, and to sow the seeds of enthusiasm.

Urban II. at length held a council in the open fields, near Placentia, at which were 1094 present upwards of 30,000 seculars, besides ecclesiastics. At this council they deliberated on the properest method of revenging the cause of Christianity upon the infidels. Alexis Comnenus, the Grecian emperor, father to that princess who wrote the history of her times, sent ambassadors to this council to demand assistance against the Mussulmans; but he had no reason to expect it either from the pope or the Italians. The Normans had then taken Naples and Sicily from the Greeks. The pope, who wanted at least to be lord-paramount of these kingdoms, being likewise the rival of the Greek church, became, in consequence of this situation, the declared enemy of the eastern emperors, as he was in private of the emperors of the West. The pope therefore was so far from succouring the Greeks, that he aimed at bringing the whole East into subjection to the Latins.

But notwithstanding the project of carrying the war into Palestine was so applauded by all the members of the council of Placentia, there were none who embraced it. The principal Italian lords had too much business of their own to manage at home, and would not quit a delightful country, to go and fight on the borders of Arabia Petræa.

The pope therefore found it necessary to call another council at Clermont in Auvergne, 1095 where he made a speech in the market-place.

In Italy they wept over the calamities of the Christians in Asia, but in France they took up arms for their defence. This country was peopled by a great number of new lords, who were restless, independent, and fond of a life of war and dissipation, for the most part plunged



ed in crimes that are the consequences of debauchery, and in an ignorance equal to that debauchery. To these the pope promised the remission of all their sins, and to open to them the gates of heaven, only imposing on them as a penance the indulging of their favourite passion for war and plunder. Upon this they strove who should be foremost to take up the cross; and then the churches and religious orders purchased, for a trifling consideration, many of the estates of the lords, who supposed that they should want only a very little money, and their own arms, to conquer kingdoms in Asia. Thus, for example, Godfrey of Bouillon sold his estate of Bouillon to the chapter of Liege, and Stenay to the bishop of Verdun; Baldwin, this Godfrey's brother, sold to this same bishop the same possessions he had in that country. The inferior lords of manors set out at their own expence, and the poorer gentlemen followed them as squires. The spoils were to be divided according to the rank and expences of the crusaders; this occasioned some disputes, but at the same time it proved a powerful motive to proceed, and religion, avarice, and restlessness, all conspired to spur on these emigrations. They enlisted an infinite number of infantry and horsemen, under a thousand different banners. This crowd of crusaders made their rendezvous at Constantinople; monks, women, merchants, victuallers, mechanics, all set out, imagining that they should find the road lined with Christians, ready to gain indulgences by furnishing them with subsistence. Upwards of eighty thousand of these vagabonds assembled under the banner of Coucoupetre, whom I shall for the future call Peter the Hermit, and who walked at the head of the army with sandals on his feet, and a rope tied round his waist. A new species of vanity!

The first expedition of this hermit-general was the besieging a Christian city in Hungary, called Malavilla; because the inhabitants refused to furnish the soldiers of Jesus Christ with provisions, who, notwithstanding the pretended sanctity of their enterprizes, behaved like a troop of highway robbers. The city was taken by assault, given up to plunder, and the inhabitants put

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to the sword. The hermit was then no longer master of his crusaders, who were intoxicated with the thirst of plunder: one of his lieutenants, called *Gautier sans Argent*, (or Walter the Moneyless) who commanded half of his forces, behaved in the same manner in Bulgaria. The countries through which they passed soon joined to oppose these public robbers, and they were almost all of them cut off; and the hermit, after the greatest fatigues, arrived at length before Constantinople with twenty thousand persons starving with hunger.

A German preacher, called Godescalcus, attempting to play the same game, was still worse treated; for as soon as he arrived with his disciples in that same kingdom of Hungary, where his predecessors had formerly committed so many excesses, the very sight of the red-cross which they wore was like a signal, at which the natives fell upon them, and massacred every man.

Another tribe of these adventurers, composed of above two hundred thousand persons, women, priests, scholars, and peasants, imagining that they were going to defend Jesus Christ, thought they ought to exterminate all the Jews they found in their way. There were great numbers of these on the frontiers of France, and they had almost all the trade of the kingdom in their hands. The Christians, thinking they were revenging the cause of God, fell upon these unhappy people, and put them all to the sword. Never had this nation suffered so bloody a massacre since the time of Adrian: they were butchered at Verdun, Spire, Worms, Cologne, and Mentz; and numbers laid violent hands on themselves, after having ripped open the bellies of their wives, to prevent their falling into the hands of their barbarous persecutors. Hungary, however, proved the grave of this third army of crusaders.

In the mean time Peter the Hermit, while he was lying before Constantinople, found a fresh recruit of Italian and German vagabonds, who joined him, and plundered all the country round the city. The emperor Alexis Comnenus, who governed at that time, was certainly a prince of great wisdom and moderation; he contented himself with getting rid, as soon as possible, of such troublesome

blesome guests, by furnishing them with vessels to transport them to the other side of the Bosphorus. General Peter at length saw himself at the head of a Christian army, ready to give battle to the Mussulmans. Solyman, sultan of Nice, with a body of disciplined troops, fell upon this scattered multitude, and Walter the Moneyless, with many of the poor nobility, were slain. The hermit, however, made his way back to Constantinople, where he was looked upon as a fanatic, who had enlisted a multitude of madmeh to follow him.

This however was not the case with respect to the other chiefs of the crusades, some of whom were more politic, had less enthusiasm, and were more accustomed to command; besides, they had troops that were a little better disciplined. Godfrey of Bouillon was at the head of seventy thousand foot and ten thousand horse, armed cap-a-pee, under the banners of a great number of lords, who all ranged themselves under his standard.

In the mean time Hugh, brother to Philip I. king of France, marched through Italy, accompanied by several other lords, who had joined him, and went in search of adventures; almost the whole of his fortune consisting in the title of brother to a king, who himself was not very powerful. But what appears still more strange is, that Robert duke of Normandy, eldest son of William the conqueror of England, left his duchy, in which he was scarcely established, and, after being driven out of England by his younger brother William Rufus, mortgaged Normandy to him, to furnish out the expences of this armament. He is said to have been a debauched and superstitious prince, two qualities which always proceed from a weakness of understanding, and which now prompted him to engage in this expedition *.

Old

* Robert was much more famous for his heroic valour, and good nature even to excess, than for his debauchery. He was also a generous patron of the liberal arts, and no bad poet for the times.

Old Raymond, count of Toulouse, who governed Languedoc and a part of Provence, and who had before fought against the Mussulmans in Spain, did not think his age, or the interests of his country, sufficient reasons against the ardent desire he had of visiting Palestine : accordingly he was one of the first who appeared in arms, and soon after passed the Alps at the head of near one hundred thousand men. He did not then foresee, that very soon a crusade would be preached up against his own family.

The most politic of all the crusaders, and perhaps the only politician among them, was Bohemond, son to that Robert Guiscard who conquered Sicily. This whole family, on its being transplanted into Italy, sought to aggrandize themselves, sometimes at the expence of the popes, sometimes on the ruins of the Greek empire. This Bohemond had himself for a long time maintained a war against the emperor Alexis, both in Epirus and Greece. Having no other inheritance but the small principality of Tarentum, and his own valour, he took advantage of the epidemical enthusiasm of Europe, to assemble under his banner ten thousand horsemen well armed, and some infantry, with which he hoped to be able to conquer a few provinces, either from the Christians or the Infidels.

The princess Anna Comnena observes, that her father was greatly alarmed at these prodigious emigrations which poured in upon his country. " One would have imagined, says she, that all Europe, rent from its foundations, was going to fall upon Asia." What would she have said then, had the three hundred thousand men, part of which followed Peter the Hermit, and the rest the priest Godefcalcus, still continued in being ?

A proposal was made to the pope, for him to put himself at the head of these immense armies, which were still left. This was the only sure method of arriving at universal monarchy, which was now become the darling object of the court of Rome ; but this enterprize, which pope Gregory VII. had indeed the boldness to conceive, required the genius of a Mahomet or
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an Alexander to execute. The obstacles were numerous and great, and Urban considered only the obstacles.

The pope, and the princes who had taken up the cross, had their different views in this grand affair; and Constantinople stood in dread of them all. The Latins were universally hated there, and considered as heretics and barbarians.

Those the Greeks feared the most, and with reason too, were Bohemond and his Neapolitans; as being enemies to the empire. But supposing the designs of Bohemond to have been ever so just, what right had these western princes to come and seize for themselves the provinces, which the Turks had taken from the Greek emperors?

We may form some idea of the brutal arrogance of these lords of the crusade, from the story related by the princess Anna Comnena, of a certain French count, who, at a public ceremony, seated himself by the emperor's side on his throne; and when Baldwin, brother to Godfrey of Bouillon, took hold of his hand to make him retire, the indiscreet wretch cried aloud in his barbarous jargon, *Voilà un plaisant rustre que ce Grec, de s'asseoir devant des gens comme nous!* "A pretty clown of a Greek this, to sit down before such men as we are!" These words were interpreted to Alexis, who only smiled at them. One or two indiscretions of this kind are sufficient to disgrace a whole nation.

It was morally impossible that such guests should not demand provisions with arrogance, and that the Greeks should not refuse them with contempt. This was the cause of continual skirmishes between the natives and Godfrey's army, which was the first that appeared after the rapacious followers of Peter the Hermit. Godfrey, at length, went so far as to attack the suburbs of Constantinople, which the emperor defended in person. The bishop of Puy in Auvergne, the pope's legate in the army of the crusade, was absolutely for having them begin their expedition against the infidels, by laying siege to the city that was the residence of the chief of all the Christian princes. Bohemond, who was then in Sicily,

Sicily, was of the same opinion, and sent courier after courier, to dissuade Godfrey from coming to an accommodation with the emperor. Hugh, brother to the king of France, had at the same time the imprudence to leave Sicily, where he then was with Bohemond, and to transport himself almost alone into the territories of Alexis. To this act of indiscretion, he added that of writing letters full of the most insolent expressions, which was very imprudent, as well as unbecoming, in a person who had not an army at his command. The consequence of this behaviour was his being seized, and detained prisoner for some time. At length, however, the emperor, by a prudent policy, diverted all these storms. He furnished the crusaders with provisions, engaged all the principal lords to pay him homage for the lands they should conquer; and, after loading them with presents, transported them one after another into Asia. Bohemond, who was the person he dreaded the most, he treated the most magnificently. When that prince came to do him homage at Constantinople, and was viewing the rarities of the palace, Alexis ordered a cabinet to be filled with curiosities in gold and silver, of the choicest workmanship, and with jewels of all kinds, thrown together without order, and that the door of this cabinet should be left open. Bohemond, in passing through the apartment, saw this treasure, to which those who conducted him seemed not to pay the least attention. "Is it possible, cried he in the utmost surprize, that such glorious things as these should be neglected? Were they mine, I should think myself the greatest prince upon earth." The same evening the emperor sent him the cabinet, with all its rich moveables. This transaction is related by the emperor's own daughter, who was eye-witness to it*. Such was the behaviour

* We must read this account with grains of allowance, considering that it was written by the emperor's own daughter, and represents the character of her father in a very different light from that in which it is exhibited by the historians Zonaras, Glycas, Baronius,

behaviour of this prince, whom every disinterested man will stile wise and magnificent, but whom the greater part of those who have writ the history of the crusades, have treated as perfidious; because he would not be the slave of a dangerous multitude.

When he had at length got happily rid of them, and they were all passed into Asia Minor, a review was made of the army near Nicea, when it was found to consist of an hundred thousand horsemen, and six hundred thousand foot, including the women. This number, added to the first crusaders who perished under the hermit, and others, makes about one million one hundred thousand, which may justify what is said of the armies of the kings of Persia, who poured in upon Greece, and also what is related of the transplanations of so many barbarians. The French at length, and particularly Raymond count of Toulouse, now found themselves exactly in the same country, which the southern Gauls had traversed thirteen hundred years before, when they went to ravage Asia Minor, and gave their name to a province of Galatia.

Historians rarely give us any account how these vast multitudes were subsisted, although this was a circumstance which required as much care as the war itself. Venice at first refused to supply them; as she carried on a more profitable trade than ever with the Mahometans, and was afraid of losing the privileges her citizens enjoyed among them. The Genoese, the Pisans, and the Greeks, fitted out vessels laden with provisions, which they sold to the crusaders in their march along the sea-coast of Asia Minor. The Genoese became rich by these means, and the world was astonished to see that state become on a sudden a formidable power.

Old Solyman, the Turkish sultan of Syria, who was under the caliphs of Bagdat what the mayors of the

Baronius, Otto Frisingensis, &c. who paint the emperor Alexis Comnenus as a mean, perfidious, sordid prince. The *Alexiade*, written by the princess Anne, was translated from the Greek into Latin by different hands, and finally published in French by the president Cousin. It is a work of great ingenuity, compared by some to the history of Quintus Curtius.

the palace were under the race of Clovis, was not able, even with the assistance of his son, to make head against the first torrent of all these princes engaged in the crusade, their troops being better chosen than those of Peter the Hermit, and disciplined, as well as their licentiousness and enthusiasm would permit.

Nicea was taken, and Solyman's army, 1097 commanded by his son, twice beaten. The Turks and Arabians were unable at first to stand the shock of such multitudes cased in iron, their great war-horses and those forests of spears to which they had never been accustomed.

Bohemond had the art to prevail on the crusaders to yield him the fruitful country of Antioch. Count Baldwin went as far as Mesopotamia, where he took the city of Edeffa, and formed a little state. At length the crusaders laid siege to Jerusalem, of which the caliph of Egypt had taken possession by his lieutenants. Most historians tell us that the army of the besiegers was diminished by skirmishes, sickness, and the garrisons they left in the conquered towns, to twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse; and that Jerusalem was plentifully provided with every thing, and defended by a garrison of forty thousand soldiers; they take care to add, at the same time, that besides their garrison, there were twenty thousand inhabitants determined to defend it to the last extremity. But what reader is there in his senses, who must not see, that it is morally impossible for an army of twenty thousand men to besiege one of sixty thousand in a fortified place: but historians are always fond of the marvellous.

The truth is, that after five weeks siege the city was taken by assault, and that all those who were not Christians were massacred. Peter the Hermit, who from being a general had become a chaplain, was present at the taking of the city, and at the massacre which ensued. Some Christians, whom the Mussulmans had suffered to live in the city, led the conquerors into the private caves and hiding-places, where the mothers had taken shelter with their children, who were all

put to the sword. All historians agree, that, after this butchery, the Christians, besmeared and dropping with blood, went in procession to the place where they were told was the sepulchre of Christ, and there 1099 burst into tears. It is very probable that they might give some signs of religion while in that holy place; but a tenderness, which shewed itself in tears, is hardly to be reconciled with the giddy, furious, debauched, and cruel turn of mind they shewed on these occasions. A man may be both furious and tender, but not at the same time.

The crusaders made themselves masters of Jerusalem on the fifth of July 1099, at the time that Alexis Comnenus was emperor of the East, Henry IV. of the West, and while Urban II. the Roman pontiff, was yet living, who died however before he received the news of the success of this crusade, of which he had been the author.

The lords, being now masters of Jerusalem, immediately assembled to chuse a king of Judea. The ecclesiastics, who had followed the army, were present at this assembly, and had the insolence to declare, that such an election would be void and null, because, said they, the election of a patriarch should always precede that of a king.

Notwithstanding this declaration, Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen, not king, but duke of Jerusalem. A few months after, a legate named d'Amberto arrived there, and got himself nominated patriarch by the clergy, when the first thing that he did was to claim the little kingdom of Jerusalem for himself; and Godfrey, who had conquered the city at the hazard of his life, was obliged to yield it to this bishop. He however reserved the port of Joppa, and some privileges in Jerusalem: but his own country, which he had quitted, was far superior to any thing he had acquired in Palestine.

C H A P. XLV.

CRUSADES, after the taking of JERUSALEM.

FROM the fourth century, one third of the globe had been a prey to almost perpetual emigrations. The Huns, who came from Chinese Tartary, settled themselves at last on the banks of the Danube, and from thence having penetrated, under their leader Attila, into the two Gauls and Italy, they remained fixed in Hungary. The Heruli, and the Goths, made themselves masters of Rome. The Vandals came from the coasts of the Baltic sea, and conquered Spain and Africa. The Burgundians invaded one of the Gauls, and the Franks entered the other. The Moors enslaved the Visigoths, who had possession of Spain, while another nation of Arabs extended their conquests into Persia, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. The Turks came from the borders of the Caspian sea, and divided amongst them the territories which the Arabs had conquered. The European crusaders overflowed Syria, in much larger numbers than all the other nations together mustered in their emigrations, while the Tartar Gengis-khan subdued Upper Asia. And yet, after some time, there did not remain the least footsteps of the conquests of the crusaders; whereas, on the contrary, Gengis, the Arabs, the Turks, and other nations, have formed considerable establishments, at a very great distance from their native countries. We may perhaps easily discover the true causes of the little successes of the crusaders.

The same circumstances produce the same effects. We have seen that, when Mahomet's successors had conquered a number of kingdoms, they were divided by discord: the crusaders experienced nearly the same fate, only they conquered fewer countries, and were sooner divided. There were already three petty Christian states formed in Asia, viz. Antioch, Jerusalem, and Edessa; a few years after, there was a fourth

erected, which was that of Tripoli, in Syria, given to young Bertrand, son to the count of Toulouse. But, in order to make the conquest of Tripoli, they were obliged to have recourse to the Venetians for ships, who then entered into the crusade, and made the others yield them up a part of this conquest.

Of all the new princes, who had promised to pay homage for their acquisitions to the Greek emperor, not one kept his word, and all were jealous of each other. In a little time, these new states, after being divided and subdivided, passed into many different hands; and there rose up, the same as in France, several petty lords; as counts of Joppa, and marquisses of Galilee, Sidon, Acra, and Cesarea. Solyman, who had lost Antioch and Nice, still kept the open country, which was inhabited by Mahometan tribes; so that, both during Solyman's time and after, there was in Asia a mixture of Christians, Turks, and Arabs, who were perpetually at war with each other; and a Turkish and a Christian castle were frequently found in the same neighbourhood, as to this day in Germany the estates of the Protestants and Catholics are mutually intermingled.

Of the million of souls, which had entered into this crusade, very few were now remaining. The fame of their successes had drawn a swarm of new adventurers out of the West. Prince Hugh, brother to Philip I. brought a fresh multitude, which was continually increasing by Italians and Germans, who joined them on their way; these have been computed at three hundred thousand; but, if we reduce this number to two thirds, there will still remain two hundred thousand men lost to Christendom: for these, when near Constantinople, were treated in much the same manner as the followers of Peter the Hermit had been; while those, who landed in Asia, were cut to pieces by the troops of sultan Solyman; and prince Hugh died almost deserted in Asia Minor.

But what further proves, in my opinion, the extreme weakness of Jerusalem, is the establishment of those religious bodies of soldiery, the Templars and Hospitallers:

Hospitallers: for undoubtedly these monks, who were originally instituted to attend upon the sick, did not think themselves in safety, since they took up arms. Besides, when the community is well governed, private associations are seldom made.

The religious, consecrated to the service of the wounded, having made a vow to take up arms in the year 1118, there was suddenly formed a militia of the same sort, under the name of Templars, who took this title on account of their living near to that church, which, it was said, had been formerly the temple of Solomon. These establishments owe their foundation entirely to the French, or at least to the inhabitants of a country since annexed to France. Raymond Dupuy, first grand-master and founder of the militia of Hospitallers, was born in Dauphiny.

No sooner were these two orders established by the pope's bulls, than they became rich, and rivals, and fought as often against each other as against the Mussulmans. Soon after this order, a new one was established in favour of the poor Christians, who had been abandoned in Palestine; this was the order of the Teutonic monks, who afterwards in Europe became a militia of conquerors.

In short, the situation of the Christians was so precarious, that Baldwin, the first king of Jerusalem, who reigned after the death of his brother Godfrey, was taken prisoner almost at the very gates of the city by a Turkish prince.

The Christians began now to grow more and more weak every day in those countries, which they had conquered. The first conquerors were no more, and their successors were sunk in effeminacy. The little kingdom of Edessa had already been taken by the Turks in 1140, and Jerusalem itself was threatened. The emperors, finding their neighbours the princes of Antioch, were only new usurpers, made war upon them, and not without reason; upon which the Christians of Asia, ready to be overpowered on every side, solicited Europe for a new crusade.

The French had begun the first inundation, therefore they were applied to, in order to make a second. Pope Eugenius III. the disciple of St. Bernard, the founder of Clervaux, very wisely pitched upon his first master to be the instrument of a new depopulation. Never did gownman better reconcile the hurry of business with the austerity of his profession, nor had any one ever attained to so high a degree of personal respect, which is always above authority itself. His fellow-student, the abbot Suger, was prime minister of France; his disciple was pope; but Bernard, though no more than abbot of Clervaux, was the oracle not only of France, but also of Europe.

1146 At Vezelai in Burgundy, a scaffold was erected in the public market-place, on which Bernard appeared by the side of Lewis the Young, king of France. He spoke first, the king seconded him, and was the first who took the cross from the hands of St. Bernard, and his example was followed by all present. Suger, the prime minister, would fain have dissuaded the king from abandoning the certain advantages he might make in his own dominions, to go to Hungary in search of precarious conquests; but the eloquence of St. Bernard, and the prevailing spirit of the times, without which that eloquence would have been nothing, carried it against the prudent advice of the minister.

We have had Lewis the Young represented as a prince rather scrupulous than virtuous. In one of those civil wars, which the feudal government in France rendered unavoidable, the king's troops had burnt the church of Vitry, and the people, who had taken refuge there, all perished in the flames. They easily found means to persuade the king, that he had no other way of expiating this guilt, but by a journey to Palestine; whereas he might have made a much more suitable reparation by staying at home, and governing his kingdom in a wise and prudent manner. His young wife, Eleanor of Guienne, engaged to accompany him in this crusade; either because she then loved him, or because the customs of those

those times made it a point of decency to follow her husband to those kind of wars.

St. Bernard had acquired so extraordinary a reputation in this affair, that, in a new assembly held at Chartres, he was chosen chief of the crusade. This may appear an almost incredible fact; but every thing is to be believed of the religious frenzy of the populace. St. Bernard had too much understanding to expose himself to the ridicule, which would have attended a step of this kind. The example of Peter the Hermit was recent in the minds of every one: he therefore wisely refused the office of general, and contented himself with that of prophet.

From France he went to Germany, where he met with another monk, who was preaching up the crusade; but he soon silenced this rival, who had not the pope's mission; and at length he gave the red cross to the emperor Conrad III. and made him a public promise, in the name of God, of victory over the Infidels. Soon after this, one of his disciples, named Philip, wrote over to France, that Bernard had performed a great number of miracles, since he had been in Germany: it was not indeed pretended that he raised the dead to life; but the blind received sight, the lame walked, and the sick were healed. We may reckon among these prodigies, that he always preached to the Germans in French.

The hopes of certain victory drew after the emperor and the king of France the greatest part of the knights in their dominions; and it is said, that in each army there were reckoned seventy thousand men, in complete armour, with a prodigious number of light horse, exclusive of the infantry: so that we cannot well reduce this second emigration to less than three hundred thousand persons, who, joined to one million three hundred thousand sent before, make in the whole one million six hundred thousand transplanted inhabitants. The Germans were the first who took the field, the French followed them. It is natural, that of so great a multitude, numbers must have been carried off by sickness, upon going into a different climate. Intemperance, however, produced a mortality in Conrad's

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army,

army, near the plains of Constantinople, which occasioned the report, that was spread through the West, of the Greeks having poisoned the wells and fountains. The same excesses, that had been committed by the former crusaders, were acted over again by these ; which gave Manuel Comnenus the same apprehensions as they had done to his grandfather Alexis.

Conrad, after he had passed the Bosphorus, acted with that imprudence, which is always annexed to such kind of expeditions. The principality of Antioch was yet in being, and the emperor might have joined those Christians, which were in Syria, and have waited for the king of France ; then their numbers would have ensured them success ; but instead of this, the emperor, being jealous both of the prince of Antioch and the king of France, marches on into the midst of Asia Minor, where the sultan of Iconium, who was a more able general than himself, drew his heavy German cavalry amongst the rocks ; where, fatigued, dispirited, and incapable of acting on such ground, they fell an easy prey to the Turks, who had no other trouble than that of killing them. The emperor being wounded, and left with only a few flying squadrons about him, fled to Antioch, from whence he went to Jerusalem as a pilgrim, instead of appearing there as the leader of an army. The famous Frederic Barbarossa, his nephew, and successor in the German empire, attended him in all these journeys, and learned among the Turks to exercise that courage, which the popes afterwards put to the severest trial.

Lewis the Young met with the same success in his enterprize. It must be acknowledged that his followers were not more prudent than the Germans, and had far less justice on their side. As soon as he arrived in Thrace, a bishop of Langres offered to make him master of Constantinople ; but the disgrace that would have attended such an action was too apparent, and the success too doubtful. The French army therefore crossed the Hellespont, and pursued the same route as the emperor Conrad had done.

Every one, I imagine, must have observed that these powerful Christian armies carried on a war in the same country

country, where Alexander the Great was always victorious, with much fewer troops, over an enemy far more powerful than the Turks and Arabs were at that time. There must then certainly have been some fundamental defect in the military discipline of these princes, that rendered their courage useless; and this defect probably was the spirit of independence, which the feudal government had introduced into Europe. Thus chiefs, without either art or experience, took upon them to conduct a disorderly multitude through unknown countries. The king of France fell into the same snare as the emperor; and, being surprised with his army among the rocks near Laodicea, was there beaten as he had been: but Lewis, at his return to Antioch, met with some domestic misfortunes, which affected him much more sensibly than the public calamities. Raymond, prince of Antioch, at whose court he had taken refuge, with his wife Eleanor, was suspected of entertaining a passion for that princess. It is even said that she forgot all the fatigues of her late painful journey, in the arms of a young Turk of surprising beauty, named Saladin. The conclusion of the whole enterprize was, that the emperor Conrad returned almost alone to Germany, and Lewis carried back with him to France only his wife and a few of his courtiers. At his return he annulled his marriage with Eleanor of Guienne, and thus lost that fine French province, after having lost in Asia the most flourishing army that his country had ever set on foot. A thousand ruined families in vain cried out against St. Bernard for his prophecies: he excused himself upon the example of Moses, with whom he compared himself; and who, like him, he said, had promised the Israelites, in God's name, to conduct them into a happy country, and yet saw the first generation perish in the deserts.

After these unfortunate expeditions, the Christians in Asia became more divided amongst themselves than ever. The same madness raged amongst the Mussulmans. The pretence of religion had no longer any share in political affairs; on the contrary, about the year 1166, Aumaury, king of Jerusalem, entered into an alliance with the sultan of Egypt against the Turks;

but the king of Jerusalem had hardly signed the treaty when he broke it.

In the midst of all these disorders arose the great Saladin: he was of Persian extraction, and born in the small country of the Curdes, a nation always warlike, and always free. He was one of those captains who made themselves masters of the caliphs territories, and was excelled in valour by no one. In a short time he conquered Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, and Mesopotamia; and finding himself master of such a large extent of country, soon formed the design of conquering the kingdom of Jerusalem. This little state was rent by violent factions, and was every day hastening to its ruin.

Guy of Lusignan, who had received the crown, but a crown which was disputed with him, assembled together in Galilee all the divided Christians, whom the prospect of approaching danger now united, and marched against Saladin; the bishop of Ptolemais, wearing a cope over his armour, marched at the head of the troops,* holding in his arms a cross, which he endeavoured to persuade the soldiers was the very same, on which the Saviour of mankind suffered death*. Never heless, the Christians were all either killed or made prisoners. The captive monarch, who expected nothing but death, was astonished to find himself treated by Saladin, in the same manner as prisoners of war are now-a-days treated by the most humane generals.

Saladin with his own hands presented Lusignan with a cup of liquor cooled with snow: the king, after having drank, was going to give the cup to one of his captains, named Renaud de Chatillon. It was an inviolable custom established among the Mussulmans, and which is still kept up among some of the Arabian nations, never to put those prisoners to death to whom they had given meat or drink. This antient law of hospitality was regarded as sacred by Saladin; therefore he would
not

* They must have been very easy of belief, to be persuaded that Jesus Christ could be crucified on the cross, which the bishop of Ptolemais carried in his arms.

not suffer Renaud to drink after the king: that captain had several times broken his promise; the conqueror had vowed to punish him; and to shew that he knew how to punish as well as to shew mercy, he struck off the head of the perfidious wretch with a blow of his sabre. Being come before the gates of 1187

Jerusalem, which was in no state of defence, he granted the queen, Lusignan's wife, a capitulation she could not hope to obtain *; with permission to retire whither she pleased; nor would he take any ransom for the Greeks who lived in the city. When he made his entry into Jerusalem, several women came and threw themselves at his feet, some asking for their husbands, others for their children or fathers, who were his prisoners, whom he ordered to be restored to them with a generosity, of which that part of the world had not furnished one example. Saladin caused the mosque, which had been converted into a church, to be washed all over with rose-water by the Christians, and placed in it a magnificent chair, on which his uncle Noradin, sultan of Aleppo, had worked with his own hands; and also caused to be engraven over the door these words: "Saladin the king, the servant of God, set up this inscription, after God had taken Jerusalem by his hands."

He established Mahometan schools; but, notwithstanding his attachment to his religion, he restored the Holy Sepulchre to the Oriental Christians. We must likewise

* We are told by D'Herbelot, who translated the Arabian historian Benschuhnah, that Saladin had been repulsed in several attacks by the Christians of Jerusalem; that he refused to grant them a capitulation, declaring he would take the place by storm, as it had been reduced by the Christians; that the garrison, being thus driven to despair, fought with such obstinacy, as obliged him to change his resolution, and grant terms which were abundantly severe: for he stipulated, that every man should pay ten golden crowns for his ransom, every woman five, and every child two: and that all those, who could not pay, should become the slaves of the sultan. As for his leaving to the Christians the custody of the holy sepulchre, this was the effect of his policy, to raise money by the pilgrims; as he knew very well, that no pilgrims would go thither, had the sepulchre been under the direction of the Mahometans.

wife add, that within the space of a year, he restored Guy of Lusignan his liberty, first making him swear that he would never again carry arms against his deliverer. This oath, however, Lusignan afterwards broke.

While Asia Minor had thus been made the theatre of the zeal, glory, crimes, and misfortunes of so many thousands of the crusaders, the rage of propagating religion sword in hand made its way even to the extremity of the North.

We have a little before seen Charlemagne converting the north of Germany with fire and sword *. We have afterwards beheld the idolatrous Danes making Europe tremble, and conquering Normandy, without ever attempting to force their religion upon the people they had conquered † ; but scarcely was the Christian religion settled in Denmark, Saxony, and Scandinavia, when a crusade was preached up against the pagans of the North, whom they called Slaves, or Slaves ; whence the country which borders upon Hungary is called Slavonia. The Christians took up arms against them from Bremen to the extremities of Scandinavia, and upwards of one hundred thousand crusaders marched to carry destruction among these idolaters, of whom they killed vast numbers without making a single convert. We may add the loss of these hundred thousand men to the sixteen hundred thousand which the mad fanaticism of those times had cost Europe.

While these things were transacting in the North, the Asiatic Christians had lost all they possessed there, except Antioch, Tripoli, Joppa, and the city of Tyre ; Saladin being master of all the rest, either by himself, or by his son-in-law, the sultan of Iconium, or Cogni.

All Europe was alarmed at the rumour of Saladin's victories. Pope Clement III. stirred up France, England, and Germany. Philip Augustus, who
1188 at that time sat on the throne of France, and old Henry II. who was king of England, suspended their private differences, and placed all their emulation

* See vol. I. chap. viii.

† Vol. I. chap. xv.

emulation in marching to the relief of the Christians in Asia. They both caused proclamation to be made throughout their dominions, that such of their subjects as would not take up the cross, should pay the value of the tenth part of their revenues and moveable effects, towards defraying the expence of the armament. This was called the Saladin tythe, a tax which served as an additional trophy to the conqueror.

The emperor Frederic Barbarossa, so famous for the persecutions he suffered from the popes, and which he made them suffer in their turn, took up the cross much about this time. He seemed to be among the Christians of Asia, what Saladin was among the Turks, an able politician, a good soldier, tried by fortune, and at the head of an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. He at first took the precaution to order, that no one should take the cross, who was not worth at least one hundred and fifty franks, current money; to the end that every one might, by his own means, prevent the dreadful dearth which had so greatly contributed to ruin the preceding armies.

Frederic was obliged to turn his arms first against the Greeks. The court of Constantinople, wearied with being continually threatened by the Latins, entered into an alliance with Saladin. This alliance disgusted all the Christian powers of Europe; but it was evident that there was no avoiding it. We are not naturally fond of having connections or alliance with a known enemy, without an urgent necessity. Our alliance at present with the Turks, though much less necessary, perhaps, does not occasion any murmuring. Frederic opened himself a passage thro' Thrace sword in hand, against the emperor Isaac Angelus, and having conquered the Greeks, he afterwards gained two victories over the sultan of Cogni; but bathing himself in a river (some say the Cydnus) when in a profuse sweat, he lost his life, and his conquests thereby became of no advantage. They had certainly cost him very dear, since his son the duke of Suabia could gather together no more than seven or eight thousand men, out of one hundred and fifty thousand that had followed his father: these he conducted

ducted to Antioch, and incorporated them with the remains of the army of Guy of Lusignan, who was determined again to attack his conqueror and deliverer Saladin, in defiance of the oath he had taken, and the great inequality of their forces.

After several battles, none of which were decisive, the son of Frederic Barbarossa, who might have been emperor of the West, was killed near Ptolemais. Those writers who tell us that he died a martyr to his chastity, and might have survived, could he have prevailed on himself to make use of women, shew themselves bold panegyrists, but very indifferent naturalists. The same thing has been since said of Lewis VIII. king of France.

Asia Minor was a gulph, into which Europe seemed hastening to plunge itself. Not only Frederic's immense army was lost, but the fleets of England, France, Italy, and Germany, that arrived before Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur-de-Lion had brought fresh crusaders, and consequently fresh victims.

The kings of France and England at length arrived in Syria before Ptolemais: almost all the eastern Christians were assembled to carry on the siege of this city. Saladin was employed on the borders of the Euphrates with a civil war. When the two kings had joined their forces to those of the eastern Christians, the whole was computed to amount to above three hundred thousand men.

Ptolemais indeed was taken; but the jealousy and discord which naturally arose between two such rivals in power and interest as Philip and Richard, produced more mischievous effects than these three hundred thousand performed successful exploits. Philip, grown weary of these animosities, and still more of the superiority which Richard assumed on all occasions, though his vassal, returned in disgust to France, which perhaps he ought never to have left; but to which likewise he should never have returned, unless with more credit.

Richard, now left master of the field of honour, but not of that multitude of crusaders, more divided amongst themselves

themselves than the two kings had been, in vain gave proofs of the most heroic valour. Saladin, who was returning victorious from Mesopotamia, gave battle to the crusaders near Cefarea, when Richard had the honour of disarming that great warrior, which was almost the only advantage he gained by this memorable expedition.

Fatigues, sickness, skirmishes, and continual quarrels, ruined this great army, and Richard returned home with more glory indeed than Philip 1191 Augustus, but in a manner much less prudent. He set sail with a single ship, and that being cast away on the coast of Venice, he was obliged to cross Germany in disguise, and very badly attended. When in Syria, he had, by his haughty behaviour, given great offence to a duke of Austria, and now he had the imprudence to pass through his territories. The duke ordered him to be seized, loaded him 1193 with chains, and delivered him up to that cruel and dastardly prince, the emperor Henry VI. who kept him confined, as if he had been an enemy taken in war, and it is said demanded an hundred marks of silver for his ransom.

Saladin, who had entered into a treaty with Richard, by which he left to the Christians all the sea-coast from Tyre to Joppa, and who during his life-time adhered faithfully to his engagements, died 1195 three years after at Damascus, admired even by the Christians. In his last illness, instead of the standard, which used to be displayed before the door of his palace, he ordered the sheet to be hung up in which he was to be buried; and the person who carried this ensign of mortality, cried with a loud voice, "Behold all that Saladin, conqueror of the East, has gained by his victories." They say, that by his last will he left a sum to be equally distributed between the poor Mahometans, Jews, and Christians; intending by this disposition to inculcate that all men are brethren; and that, when we would assist them, we are not to enquire what they believe, but what they suffer.

The

The ardour for crusades still continued as warm as ever, and the wars, which were carried on by Philip Augustus against England and Germany, did not prevent a great number of the French lords from engaging in these chimerical expeditions. Baldwin count of Flanders was the principal promoter of this emigration, as Godfrey of Bouillon had been of the first. This new crusade, which we may call the fifth, was composed of four thousand knights, nine thousand esquires, and twenty-five thousand infantry.

The republic of Venice, which supported its commerce by war, became every day more and more formidable; and it was thought of more consequence to secure her assistance, than that of all the crowned heads of Europe, as she was able to fit out larger fleets than the kings of England, Germany, and France. These industrious republicans gained both wealth and additional territories by this crusade: for, in the first place, they were paid eighty-five thousand marks of silver, merely for the passage of the troops; and then they made use

of this very armament, to which they added fifty galleys, to make conquests in Dalmatia.

Pope Innocent III. whether out of matter of form, or because he already feared their rising grandeur, excommunicated these people; but they nevertheless took Zara and its territories, which still added to the strength of their republic.

This crusade set out under very different circumstances to all others, inasmuch as it found Constantinople divided; whereas the former ones had to do with emperors well settled on the throne. The Venetians, together with the count of Flanders, the marquis of Montferrat, and, in fine, all the principal commanders, who are generally good politicians, however mad and giddy the multitude may be, thought that the time was come for putting in execution a long-formed project against the Greek empire.

Isaac Angelus had been deprived of his liberty and right by his brother Alexis: the son of this Isaac was at the head of a party, and the crusaders offered him their

their dangerous assistance. Such auxiliaries could not but be equally hateful to both parties. However, they arrived before Constantinople, and pitched their camp without that city, which was a perpetual prey to tumults and disorders. Young Alexis, who was detested by the Greeks, for having introduced the Latins, soon became the victim of a new faction; and one of his relations, surnamed Mirziflos, strangled him with his own hands.

The crusaders, who had then the pretence of revenging the death of their creature, took advantage of the seditions that desolated the city, to plunder it. They entered it with little or no resistance; and, having put every one they met to the sword, gave themselves up without restraint to all the excess of 1204 avarice and fury. Nicetas affirms, that the booty of the French lords alone was valued at four hundred thousand marks of silver. The very churches were pillaged; and what strongly marks the character of the nation, which has been at all times the same, is, that the French danced with the ladies in the sanctuary of the church of St. Sophia.

This was the first time that the city of Constantinople had been taken and sacked; and this was the act of Christians, who had made a vow to fight only against infidels.

We do not find that, on this occasion, the wild-fire, much boasted of by historians, had the least effect. Had it been what they represented it, it must always have given certain victory both by sea and land. If it was something resembling our phosphorus, it might indeed be preserved in water, but then it would have had no effect in that element. In short, notwithstanding this secret, the Turks had taken almost all Asia Minor from the Greeks, and the Latins stript them of the rest.

Baldwin, count of Flanders, the most powerful of all the crusaders, got himself elected emperor, and this new emperor condemned the other usurper Mirziflos to be thrown headlong from the top of a high column. The other chiefs divided the empire between them. The Venetians

Venetians took for their share Peloponnesus, the island of Candia, and several cities on the coast of Phrygia, which had not submitted to the Turkish yoke. The marquis of Montferrat took Theffaly. Thus Baldwin had little left, except Thrace and Mœsia. As to the pope, he gained, at least for a time, the whole eastern church. This conquest might in time have been worth a kingdom; for Constantinople was of far greater consequence than Jerusalem.

These crusaders, who thus ruined the Christians their brethren, might, much more easily than any of their predecessors, have driven the Turks out of Asia, as the demesnes of Saladin were rent in pieces; but of such a number of knights, who had made a vow to go and succour Jerusalem, a very inconsiderable part went into Syria, and those only such as were unable to get any share in the spoils of the Greeks. One of these was Simon of Montfort, who, having in vain attempted to gain dominions in Greece and Syria, put himself, at length, at the head of a crusade against the Albigenſes, in hopes of finding an opportunity, under the sanction of the cross he bore, to usurp something from the Christians.

There still remained a number of princes of the imperial house of Comnenus, who did not lose their courage with the destruction of their empire. One of these, who also bore the name of Alexis, took refuge with a few vessels on the coast of Colchis, and there, between the sea and mount Caucasus, erected a petty state, which he called the empire of Trebifond; so much was the word empire abused.

Theodore Lascarus, who retook Nice, settled himself in Bithynia, by opportunely making use of the Arabians against the Turks. He also assumed the title of emperor, and caused a patriarch to be elected in his own communion. Other Greeks entered into an alliance even with the Turks, and called in the antient enemies of the

1205 Bulgariansto their assistance against the emperor Baldwin, the late count of Flanders, who had yet scarcely enjoyed his conquest; and, having overcome

overcome him near Adrianople, they cut off his legs and arms, and left him a prey to wild beasts.

It has by some been thought astonishing that the sources of these emigrations were not dried up; but, in my opinion, the contrary would have been astonishing. The minds of mankind were set in agitation; penitents were ordered by their confessors to go to the Holy Land; and the false reports which were every day brought from that place, excited new hopes and expectations.

A monk of Brittany, named Estoin, about the year 1204, conducted a multitude of his countrymen into Syria. The widow of a king of Hungary took the cross, with many others of her sex, thinking there was no other way of gaining Heaven, but by making this voyage. This epidemic folly communicated itself even to the children; several thousands of whom, conducted by the schoolmasters and monks, quitted their parents houses on the faith of these words: "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, O Lord, thou hast ordained strength." Of these infatuated little wretches, one half were sold by their leaders to the Mussulmans, and the rest perished miserably.

Antioch was the most considerable state the Christians retained in Syria, and the kingdom of Jerusalem was reduced to the single city of Ptolemais. Nevertheless, it was determined in the West, that Jerusalem ought to have a king, and Emery of Lusignan, the titular king, dying in the year 1205, it was proposed, by the bishop of Ptolemais, that they should send to France to demand a king for Judea. Philip Augustus therefore nominated a younger son of the house of Brienne, in the province of Champagne, who was hardly possessed of any estate. The choice of such a king sufficiently shews what kind of a kingdom this was.

This titular king, together with his knights, some people of Brittany who had passed the sea, several German princes, a duke of Austria, a king of Hungary, named Andrew, who brought with him several fine troops, the knights Templars and Hospitallers, and the bishops of Munster and Utracht, might altogether have formed

formed an army of conquerors, had they had a head to lead them on; but this they wanted.

The king of Hungary having withdrawn himself from the league, a count of Holland undertook what so many kings and princes had been unable to execute. The Asiatic Christians seemed now at the eve of their deliverance, and their hopes were heightened by the arrival of a great multitude of knights, brought by a legate from the pope, and accompanied by an archbishop of Bourdeaux, the bishops of Paris, Angers, Autun, and Beauvais, and a considerable body of troops; besides these, there came four thousand English and as many Italians, under several leaders. At length John de Brienne, who had arrived at Ptolemais almost without a man, saw himself at the head of near an hundred thousand combatants.

Saphadin, brother to the famous Saladin, who had lately joined Egypt to his other dominions, came to demolish the remains of the walls of Jerusalem, which was now no better than a ruined village: but, as Saphadin seemed but precariously settled in Egypt, the crusaders flattered themselves that they might easily get possession of that country.

The passage from Ptolemais to the mouth of the Nile is very short, and the vessels, which had brought over this vast multitude of Christians, transported them in three days to the antient Pelusium.

Near the ruins of Pelusium stands the city of Damietta, built on a causeway, which defends it from the inundations of the Nile. The crusaders be-

1218 gan the siege of this place during the last illness of Saphadin, and continued it after his death. Meledin, his eldest son, then reigned in Egypt, and passed for a prince who was sonder of the laws, the sciences, and a life of tranquillity, than of war. Corradin, sultan of Damascus, to whose share Syria had fallen, came to his assistance against the Christians. The fame of this siege, which lasted two years, spread through Europe, Asia, and Africa.

St. Francis d'Assise, who was then upon establishing his order, went in person to the camp of the besiegers; and

and, thinking that he should find no great difficulty in converting the sultan Meledin, went boldly on with his companion, father Illuminatus, to the Egyptian camp, where they were seized and conducted to the sultan. Francis preached to him in Italian, and proposed that a large fire should be kindled, into which the Imans on the one hand, and himself and Illuminatus on the other, should cast themselves, to prove which was the true religion. Meledin replied with a smile, that his priests were not persons to leap into a fire in defence of their faith. Upon this, Francis offered to throw himself into it alone; but Meledin told him, that by accepting such an offer he might appear to doubt the truth of his own religion. At length he dismissed Francis with marks of his bounty, being perfectly well convinced that he was no dangerous spy.

Damietta, however, was taken, and this seemed to open a way for the conquest of Egypt; but Pelagus Albanus, a Spanish Benedictine, who was a cardinal and the pope's legate, was the cause 1220 of its being lost. This legate pretended, that, the pope being the head of all the crusaders, he, who represented him, had an incontestible right to be general; and that, as the king of Jerusalem was king only in virtue of the pope's licence, he ought in all things to pay obedience to his legate. Much time was expended in these disputes, and in writing to Rome; at length the pope's answer came, by which he ordered the king of Jerusalem to return to the camp, and serve under the Benedictine, which he accordingly did. This general brought the army between two branches of the Nile, just at the time when that river, which fertilizes and defends Egypt, began to overflow its banks. The sultan, being informed of his situation, by opening the sluices overflowed the Christian camp; and, while he burnt their ships on the one side, on the other the Nile encreasing threatened every day to swallow 1221 up the whole army. The legate now found himself and his troops in the same situation in which the Egyptians under Pharaoh are described, when they beheld the sea ready to flow in upon them.

All

All the writers of those times agree, that in this extremity they entered into a treaty with the sultan, who obliged them to restore Damietta, and sent back the army into Phœnicia, after having made them swear not to enter into war against him for eight years, and kept their king, John de Brienne, as a hostage for their observance of the treaty.

The Christians had now no hopes left but in the emperor Frederic II. and John de Brienne, after he was set at liberty, gave him his daughter in marriage, and his right to the kingdom of Jerusalem as her dowry.

The emperor was perfectly sensible of the little advantage to be gained by crusades; but it was necessary for him to manage the minds of the people, and ward against any attacks on the side of the popes. In my opinion, the conduct he observed on this occasion is a perfect model of sound politics. He entered into a separate treaty at the same time with the pope and with sultan Meledin; and that with this latter being signed, he set out for Palestine, but with a retinue rather than an army. No sooner was he arrived there than he made public the treaty by which Jerusalem, Nazareth, and some other towns in Judea were ceded to him. He then caused it to be published throughout Europe, that he had recovered the holy places without shedding a drop of blood; but notwithstanding this he did not escape uncensured, for having by this treaty left the great mosque in Jerusalem; and the patriarch of that city treated him as an atheist; but every where else he was looked upon as a prince who knew perfectly well how to reign.

In reading the history of these times we cannot but acknowledge, that the writers of Romance have hardly been able, with all the stretch of imagination, to exceed what truth has here furnished: nor are we surprised, in this age of extraordinary events, to see a count of Flanders, who had made a vow to go to the holy land, seizing on the empire of Constantinople in his way; nor John de Brienne, a younger son of a family in Champagne, become king of Jerusalem, and afterwards

afterwards on the point of conquering the kingdom of Egypt: and this same John, after being stripped of all his dominions, marching almost alone to the assistance of Constantinople, where he arrives during an inter-regnum, and is elected emperor. 1224

His successor Baldwin II. the last Latin emperor of Constantinople, being continually harrassed by the Greeks, runs in vain from court to court with the pope's bull in his hand, imploring assistance of all the princes of Europe. All the princes of Europe were at that time from home; the emperors of the West were gone to the holy Land, the popes were almost always in France, and the kings ready to set out for Palestine.

Theobald of Champagne, king of Navarre, who was so famous for his love to the queen, mother to St. Lewis, and the songs he composed on that occasion, was one of those also who embarked for Palestine: he returned indeed the same year, and happy it was for him; for seventy French knights, who went to signalize themselves with him, were all taken prisoners and carried to Grand Cairo, when Melecfala, nephew to Meledin, who inherited the dominions and virtues of his uncle, treated them with the greatest humanity, and at length suffered them to return to their own country, on paying a moderate ransom.

At this time the territory of Jerusalem belonged neither to the Syrians, the Egyptians, the Christians, nor the Mussulmans. An unexampled revolution had given a new face to the greater part of Asia. Gengis-Can and his Tartaas* had broke loose from Mount Caucasus, Taurus, and Immaus; and the people, who fled before them like savage beasts, chased from their haunts by animals more cruel and powerful than themselves, overran in their turn the countries whose inhabitants abandoned them at their approach.

The inhabitants of Chorazan, who were called Chorasmians, being pushed by these 1244 Tartars, threw themselves upon Syria, in the

same

* See Chap. xlviii.

same manner as the Goths in the fourth century fell upon the Roman empire. These Chorasmins being idolaters, put all the Turks, Christians, and Jews, that were left in Jerusalem, to the sword. The Christians, who remained in Antioch, Tyre, and Sydon, and on the coast of Syria, suspended for a while their mutual quarrels, and united to repel these new invaders. These Christians were then in alliance with the sultan of Damascus: and the templars, the knights of St. John, and the Teutonic knights, were always ready armed to lend their assistance to the general cause. Europe was continually furnishing fresh volunteers. In short, with the forces they could get together, they gave battle to the Chorasmins, when the Christian party was entirely defeated: but this was not the end of their misfortunes. A fresh body of Turks fell upon and ravaged Syria, after the Chorasmins had abandoned it, and exterminated almost all the knights that were left. But, notwithstanding these sudden torrents, Christians were still left in possession of the cities on the coast.

The Latins, shut up in their maritime towns, saw themselves now deprived of all assistance, and their mutual dissensions added to their other misfortunes. The princes of Antioch were wholly taken up with making war upon a colony of Christians in Armenia. The different factions of the Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans, were disputing with each other the possession of Ptolemais. The templars and knights of St. John were continually embroiled; and Europe, now grown cool, sent forth scarce any of these armed pilgrims; so that the hopes of the eastern Christians were almost wholly extinguished, when St. Lewis undertook the last crusade.

C H A P. XLVI.

OF ST. LEWIS, and the last CRUSADE.

LEWIS IX. seemed a prince destined to reform Europe, had it been capable of being reformed, to render France triumphant and civilized, and to be in every respect a model for the rest of mankind. His piety, which was that of an anchorite, did not deprive him of any of the virtues of a king; nor did his liberality break in upon the bounds of a prudent œconomy. He knew how to reconcile the profoundest politics with the strictest justice, and perhaps was the only sovereign who deserved this praise: in council he was prudent and firm, in battle intrepid but not rash, and compassionate as if he had always been unhappy. In a word, it is not in the power of man to carry virtue to a greater height.

In conjunction with the queen his mother, who was regent, and understood perfectly well how to govern, he put a stop to the gross abuses which had crept into the exercise of the ecclesiastical power. The clergy pretended that the officers of justice ought to seize the goods of every excommunicated person, without examining whether the excommunication was just or not: but the king, wisely distinguishing between the civil laws, to which every one owes obedience, and the church laws, whose power ought to extend only to consciences, would not suffer the laws of the kingdom to yield to this abuse of excommunications. From the first beginning of his taking the reins of government, he confined the pretensions of the bishops and laity within their proper bounds; he suppressed several factions in Brittany; and observed a prudent neutrality between the furiously insolent Gregory IX. and the madly revengeful Frederic II.

He increased his demesnes, which were already very considerable, by the purchase of several lands.

The revenues of the kings of France consisted then only in their own private property, and not in that of the people; and their grandeur depended on a well regulated œconomy, in the same manner as that of a private nobleman.

His wise administration had enabled him to raise very considerable armies to oppose Henry III. king of England, and the vassals of France who had joined with him. Henry, who was poorer, and not so well obeyed by his subjects, had neither such good troops, nor could he assemble them so readily.

1241 Lewis defeated him twice, particularly at Taillebourg in Poitou, when the king of England fled before him. This war was succeeded by an useful peace. The vassals of France returned to their duty, and never after swerved from it. The king moreover obliged the English to pay five thousand pounds sterling towards defraying the expences of the campaign.

If we reflect that he was barely twenty-four years old when he acted in this manner, and how much superior his genius was to his fortune; we may easily figure to ourselves what great things such a prince might have done for his country, had he remained at home; and cannot but regret, that France should have been rendered so miserable by those very virtues, which might have made the whole universe happy.

In the year 1244, Lewis, being seized with a violent disorder, fell into a lethargic dosing, during which, it is said, he thought that he heard a voice commanding him to take up the cross against the infidels*. The instant he recovered his speech, he made a vow to engage in a crusade. The queen his mother, his wife, his council, and all about him, were fully sensible of the dangerous consequence of this fatal vow. The bishop of Paris himself displayed them to him in the strongest terms; but Lewis considered

* Father Daniel says, that during his insensibility, his friends placed upon his bed, a piece of the true cross, and other relics, which produced an instantaneous effect in his favour.

sidered his vow as a sacred bond, which it was not permitted man to unloose. He took four years in preparing for this expedition; and then leaving the government of the kingdom to his mother, he set out, accompanied by his queen, his three brothers with their wives, and almost all the knights in France; for he had in this army no less than three thousand knights bannerets. One part of the prodigious fleet, destined to carry so many princes and warriors, set sail from Marseilles, and the other from Aiguemorte, which is no longer a seaport.

From the account of the king's expences, we may perceive how greatly France must have been impoverished by these crusades. He gave to the lord of Vallery for maintaining thirty knights, eight thousand livres: to the constable for fifteen knights, three thousand livres: to the archbishop of Rheims, and the bishop of Langres, each for fifteen knights whom they brought with them into the field, four thousand livres each. Besides which, he likewise provided tables for one hundred and seventy two knights. These expences, together with the preparations for this expedition, amounted to an immense sum.

If the madness for crusades, and the religious observance of oaths, had permitted Lewis's virtue to hearken to reason, he would not only have perceived the evil he was bringing upon his country, but also the great injustice of this expedition, which appeared to him so just and laudable.

Had his design been only to put France in possession of Jerusalem, it was what it had no right to: but he marched against the old and wise Melecála*, sultan of Egypt, who had certainly never given offence to the king of France. Melecála was a Mussulman, and that was the only pretence for making war upon him: but there was no more reason at that time for ravaging Egypt, because the people followed the doctrine of Mahomet, than there would be at present for

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carrying

† It was in the year 1248, that Lewis IX. set sail for Cyprus.

* This prince's name was Malek al Saleh.

carrying a war into China, because that empire is attached to the tenets of Confucius.

Lewis put into Cyprus, and was joined by the king of that island. They then landed in Egypt. The sultan of Egypt was no longer in possession of Jerusalem. Palestine was then ravaged by the Chorasmins, the sultan of Syria had abandoned to them that wretched country; and the caliph of Bagdat who, though still acknowledged, had only the shadow of power, no longer took part in those wars. There were still some Christians remaining at Ptolemais, Tyre, Antioch, and Tripoli; but by their dissensions they continually ran the risk of being crushed, both by the Turkish sultans and the Chorasmins.

In this situation of affairs it is difficult to find a reason, why the king of France should chuse Egypt for the theatre of his war. Melecfala, who was now grown old and sick, demanded a peace, which was refused him. Lewis was reinforced by fresh succours from France, and saw himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, by whom he was both obeyed and loved; and having to do with an army already defeated, and a sultan who drew near his end, who would not have thought that Egypt, and even Syria itself would quickly have been subdued? yet one half of this flourishing army died of sickness, and the other half was defeated near Massoura. St. Lewis saw his

brother Robert of Artois killed by his side,
1250 and himself taken prisoner, with his two brothers, the count of Anjou, and the count of Poitiers. It was no longer old Melecfala, who reigned in Egypt, but his son Almoadan †, who must certainly have been a prince of a most generous soul; for when king Lewis made him an offer of a million of besants in gold for his ransom, and that of his followers, Almoadan generously remitted him the fifth part.

This sultan was massacred by the Mamalucs, whom his father had formed into a militia; and the government

† Malek Almôhadan.

ment, being now divided, seemed to threaten some fatal revolution to the Christians; however, the Egyptian council continued to treat with the king. The fleur de Joinville relates, that the emirs themselves proposed in one of their assemblies to chuse Lewis for their sultan.

This Joinville was a prisoner at the same time with the king, and what is related by a man of his character has doubtless some weight. But let us only reflect how frequently, in a camp or a private house, we are misinformed of what passes in a neighbouring camp, or the next house, and likewise how improbable it is that Mussulmans should think of chusing for their sovereign a Christian king, and an enemy, who was neither acquainted with their language nor their manners, and who detested their religion, and could only be considered by them as the chief of a band of foreign robbers; if we reflect upon this, I say, we shall find that Joinville has only reported a popular story. By relating faithfully all that we hear, we are often led to repeat many things which ought at least to be suspected: and again, we have not the true history written by Joinville; it is at best but an incorrect translation made in the time of Francis I. from a manuscript which it would be very difficult to understand at present.

I have not been able to reconcile what historians tell us of the manner in which the Mussulmans treated their Christian prisoners. Some of them say, that they were brought one by one out of the place where they were confined, and asked if they would deny Jesus Christ; and such as persisted in the Christian faith had their heads struck off.

Others again attest, that an old emir asked the prisoners by an interpreter, if they believed in Jesus Christ; and they answering in the affirmative, he replied, "Be of good courage then; he that died for you, and could rise again, is doubtless able to deliver you."

These two accounts seem a little contradictory; and what is still more so, is, that the emirs should

kill those captives for whom they expected a ransom*.

Upon the whole, these emirs demanded no more than 80,000 besants, to which the late sultan had limited the ransom; and when, in pursuance of the treaty, the French troops which were in Damietta had given up that city, we do not find that the conquerors committed the least outrage on the women, but sent the queen and her sisters-in-law away with marks of respect. All the Mahometan soldiers did not indeed behave with equal moderation; the vulgar in all countries being rude and brutal: there were doubtless some violences committed, and some prisoners ill-treated, and even killed; but after all, I must own I am surprised that the sultan did not put to death a much greater number of these foreign invaders, who sailed from the ports of Europe to lay waste the kingdom of Egypt†.

St. Lewis, on his being delivered from captivity, retired into Palestine, where he remained near four years with the shattered remains of his fleet and army. Instead of returning to France he went to visit Nazareth,

* Joinville expressly says, that the emirs deliberated among themselves, whether they should not behead the king and all the Christians in their power, and that they were dissuaded from this resolution by a single emir, whose breast was animated by a spark of honour, or perhaps avarice.——After all, it would have been the most advantageous resolution they could have taken.

† Whether it be owing to a partiality for the Mahometans, or an implacable hatred to the Christians, we shall not determine; but certain it is, our author industriously palliates the cruelties of the former, by alledging mere conjectures, and exaggerates those of the latter, without much regard to the truth of history. Why should we believe the history of the Arabian author Ben-Shunah, rather than the memoirs of the Christian knight Joinville, who was an eye-witness of what he relates? The wife of St. Lewis being besieged at Damietta, and in danger of captivity, addressing herself to Joinville, who was a knight-errant, fell on her knees, and begged a boon, which he having granted on the faith of chivalry, she insisted upon his cutting off her head, if ever her virtue should be in danger; and he promised to comply with her request.

reth, and did not repair to his own dominions till after the death of queen Blanch, his mother; and then only in order to set on foot a new crusade.

His residence at Paris proved a perpetual increase of advantage and glory to him; and he received marks of honour which can only be rendered to a virtuous king. Henry III. of England and his barons having had some dispute, they made choice of him as sovereign arbiter §; and altho' his decision, which was in Henry's favour, did not put a stop to the commotions in England, yet it proved to all Europe, that men are obliged, in spite of themselves, to shew reverence to virtue. The reputation of Lewis, and the good order he observed in his kingdom, procured his brother, the count of Anjou, the honour of being chosen king of Sicily by the pope.

Lewis in the mean time enlarged his demesnes by the acquisition of Namur, Peronne, Avranches, Montagne, and du Perche. He might likewise have taken from the kings of England all they possessed in France: the quarrels between Henry III. and his barons rendered it very practicable; but Lewis preferred justice to usurpation, and suffered them to remain in quiet possession of Guienne, Perigord, and the Limousin; but he obliged them to give up for ever all claim to Touraine, Poitou, and Normandy, which had been re-annexed to the crown of France by Philip Augustus. By this procedure he at once procured an honourable peace to his country, and raised his own reputation.

He was the first who established the law or right of appeals; by which the subjects, which had been before obliged to submit to the arbitrary sentence of the judges of the baronies, might now carry their complaints into four grand royal bailiwicks, erected on purpose to hear and determine such causes. In his reign men of letters were first admitted to seats in the parliament, where before the knights, who hardly knew how to read, used to decide the fortunes of the
D 4
subjects.

§ How could he pronounce a decree as sovereign, when he was no more than an arbitrator chosen by the two parties?

subjects. With all the piety of a priest, he shewed the enlightened firmness of a king, in putting a check to the encroachments of the court of Rome, by that famous pragmatic law, which secures those rights called the liberties of the Gallican church.

In short, thirteen years of his presence in France repaired all the evils that had been wrought in his absence; but his infatuation for crusades hurried him beyond every other consideration, and the popes took care to encourage him in it. Clement IV. granted him a tenth penny on the revenues of the clergy for three years. At length he departed a second time, with a force nearly equal to the former; and his brother, whom he had made king of Sicily, was to follow him: this time however he directed his devotion and his arms neither to Palestine nor the coast of Egypt, but sailed with his fleet to Tunis.

The Christians of Syria were no longer of the ancient race of Franks who settled in Antioch and Tyre; they were a mixed generation of Syrians, Armenians, and Europeans: they went by the name of *Colts*, and these feeble remains of the original conquerors were in general subject to the Egyptians, and Tyre and Ptolemais were the only cities of strength they had left in that part of the world; and even in those cities, the religious societies of Templars and Hospitallers, whom we may in some sort compare to the Mameluc militia, carried on the most cruel and bloody wars against each other; and, in a fight which happened between these military monks, there was not one Templar left alive.

But it may be asked, what relation there could be between a petty, mongrel race, on the coast of Syria, and St. Lewis's expedition to Tunis? Charles of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily, an ambitious, cruel, and self-interested prince, made the heroic simplicity of his brother Lewis subservient to his designs. He pretended that the king of Tunis owed him several years tribute; the truth is, he wanted to get the sovereignty of that country, and St. Lewis, as most historians tell us, (but on what foundation I cannot say)

hoped

hoped to make a convert of the king of Tunis. A strange method of converting a Mahometan to Christianity, to make a descent sword in hand upon his country!

The Christians landed near the ruins of Carthage; but the king soon found himself besieged in his own camp by the united forces of the Moors. And here his army underwent the same fate, by diseases, and the intemperance of the soldiery, of a new climate, as it had formerly done in Egypt; it was totally ruined: and one of his sons, who was born at Damietta during the time of his captivity, died of this kind of contagion before Tunis. At length the king himself was attacked by it, and ordering 1270 himself to be laid in the dust, he expired at the age of fifty-five, with the piety of a monk, and the courage of an hero. It is not one of the least among the many instances of the caprices of fortune, that the ruins of Carthage should be the burying-place of a Christian king, come thither to fight against Mahometans, in a country where queen Dido had first introduced the gods of the Syrians. Scarcely was Lewis dead, when his brother the king of Sicily arrived, who concluded a peace with the Moors, and conducted the shattered remains of the Christian army back into Europe.

We cannot reckon less than one hundred thousand persons sacrificed in St. Lewis's two expeditions; add to these the fifty thousand who followed Frederic Barbarossa, the three hundred thousand who composed the crusade under Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur de Lion, with the two hundred thousand at least, who emigrated in the time of king John de Brienne; reckon likewise the one hundred and sixty thousand, who had before that gone over to Asia, not omitting those who perished in the expedition against Constantinople, and in the wars succeeding that revolution, without mentioning the crusade in the North, and that against the Albigenses, and it will be found that the East proved the sepulchre of above two millions of Europeans.

Many countries were depopulated and impoverished by these expeditions. The *sieur de Joinville* expressly asserts, that the reason of his not accompanying *St. Lewis*, on his second crusade, was, that he could not support the expence of it, his fortune having been almost entirely ruined by the first.

Lewis's ransom cost the kingdom eight hundred thousand besants, which was about nine millions of the present current money of France. Now, of the two millions who died in the East, if each man carried with him out of the kingdom only one hundred franks, it will make an additional sum of two hundred millions on account of these expeditions. The *Genoese*, the *Pisans*, and particularly the *Venetians*, were enriched by them; but France, England, and Germany were totally exhausted.

It is pretended that the kings of France were gainers by these crusades; because *St. Lewis* encreased his demesnes, by purchasing the lands of those lords, who had ruined their fortunes by following him: but, in reality, he encreased them only by his œconomy during his thirteen years residence at home.

The only advantage, procured by these enterprises, was the liberty which many boroughs purchased of their lords; thus the municipal government encreased by slow degrees from the ruins of the possessors of fiefs; and these communities finding in time that they could work and traffic on their own accounts, they began to exercise arts and commerce, which had long lain neglected, and almost extinguished in a state of slavery.

In the mean time, the small number of Christians, distributed about the coast of Syria, were soon exterminated, or reduced to slavery. *Ptolemais*, their principal retreat, which was in effect only a place of refuge for robbers notorious for their crimes, could not resist the forces of *Melecseraph*, sultan of Egypt, who took it in the year 1291. After which, *Tyre* and *Sidon* soon surrendered to him. In short, towards the end of the twelfth century, there was not the least trace to be found in Asia of the emigrations of these Christians.

C H A P. XLVII.

Continuation of the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE by
the CRUSADERS.

WE may have observed, that the feudal government of France produced many conquerors; the duke of Normandy, a peer of France, subdued England; a few private gentlemen conquered Sicily; and, during the crusades, lords of France were for some time masters of Antioch and Jerusalem: in fine, Baldwin count of Flanders, also a peer of France, took Constantinople. We have seen that the Mahometans of Asia yielded Nice to the fugitive emperors of Greece, and that these Mahometans were joined in alliance with the Greeks, against the Franks and Latins, their common enemies; during this time the irruptions of the Tartars into Asia and Europe prevented the Mahometans from oppressing the Greeks. The Franks being in possession of Constantinople, elected their own emperors, and the popes confirmed them.

Peter de Courtenay, count of Auxerre, of the house of France, being elected, was 1216 crowned at Rome by pope Honorius III.

The popes, at that time, flattered themselves with a notion that they had the disposal of the empires of the East and West. We have seen what kind of claim they had upon the West, and the immense quantities of blood it cost to dispute it. With regard to the East, their pretensions were confined to Constantinople, and a part of Thrace and Thessaly; and the Latin patriarch, notwithstanding his profound submission to the pope's authority, insisted that it belonged to him alone to crown the emperors, his masters; while the Greek patriarch, who held his see sometimes at Nice, and at others in Adrianopolis, anathematized both the Latin emperor and his patriarch, and even the pope himself: in fact, this Latin empire

empire of Constantinople was so inconsiderable, that Peter de Courtenay, on his return to Rome, could not avoid falling into the hands of the Greeks,

1218 and, after his death, his successors possessed in reality no more than the city of Constantinople and its adjacent territory. Achaia was in the possession of the French, and the Venetians had the Morea.

Constantinople, which had formerly been such an opulent city, was now grown so poor, that Baldwin II. I can hardly stile him emperor, pledged to the Venetians, for a sum of money, the crown of thorns worn by Jesus Christ, his swaddling cloaths, his robe, his napkin, his sponge, and several pieces of the true cross, which were afterwards redeemed by St. Lewis, who deposited them in the holy chapel at Paris, with other relics, which are testimonies of his piety, rather than of his knowledge in antiquity.

We find that this Baldwin II. came in 1245 to the council of Lyons, in which pope Innocent IV. excommunicated in so solemn a manner the emperor Frederic II. He there in vain implored the assistance of a crusade, and returned to Constantinople, only to see it fall at last under the power of the Greeks, its lawful possessors. Michael Paleologus, emperor, and guardian to the young emperor Lascaris, retook the city by means of a private intelligence. Baldwin after this
1261 fled into France, where he lived upon the money he raised by the sale of his marquisate of Namur to St. Lewis. Thus ended this empire of the crusaders.

The Greeks brought back their manners into their empire; and the custom of putting out eyes again revived. Michael Paleologus was the first who signalized himself in this way, by depriving his pupil of his sight and liberty. It had been the custom before, on these occasions, to make use of a thin plate of metal, heated red hot; but Michael used boiling vinegar, and the custom has been still preserved, for there is a fashion even in crimes.

Paleologus

Paleologus took care to procure a solemn act of absolution for this cruel deed, from his patriarch and bishops, who it is said burst into tears of joy at this pious ceremony. Paleologus beat his breast, with all the marks of a sincere contrition, humbly asked forgiveness of God, and at the same time took especial care to keep his emperor and his pupil closely confined.

When I say that superstition returned to Constantinople with the Greeks, I desire no clearer proof of it than what happened in the year 1284. The whole empire was at that time divided between two patriarchs; the emperor gave orders that each party should present before God, in the church of St. Sophia, a memorial containing his reasons; and that both these memorials should be thrown into a consecrated pan of coals, in order that the will of heaven might be known; the Almighty however declared himself no otherwise than by suffering both the papers to be consumed to ashes, and left the Greeks to their ecclesiastical disputes.

The empire of the East in the mean time recovered a little strength; Greece had been annexed to it before the crusades, but it lost almost all Asia Minor and Syria. Greece was again separated from it after the crusades, but a small part of Asia Minor still remained.

All the rest of this empire was in the hands of new nations: Egypt was fallen a prey to the Mammaluc militia, originally formed of slaves, who afterwards became conquerors; they were soldiers who had been gathered together from the northern coasts of the Black Sea; and this new form of robbery was first established during the time that St. Lewis was in captivity.

The empire of the caliphs seemed to draw near to its end in this century, while that of Constantine appeared also in the decline. The monarchy, which had been founded by Mahomet, was torn to pieces on all sides by new usurpers, who at the same time embraced his religion, till at length the caliphs of Bagdat, called by way of distinction the Abassidian caliphs, were utterly destroyed by the family of Gengis-Can.

Thus, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there was an uninterrupted succession of devastations
throughout

throughout one half of the globe; nation fell upon nation in those prodigious emigrations, which have since by degrees formed great empires; for, while the crusaders were pouring in upon Syria, the Turks undermined the Arabians; and at length the Tartars appeared, who fell upon the Turks, the Arabians, the Indians, and the Chinese. These Tartars, conducted by Gengis-Can and his sons, changed the face of all Great Asia, while Asia Minor and Syria were the sepulchres of the Franks and Saracens.

C H A P. XLVIII.

Of the EAST, and of GENGIS-CAN.

ON the other side of Persia, towards the rivers Gihon and Oxus, a new empire arose from the ruins of the caliphate. We call it Kourasmia, or Kourassan, from the corrupted name of its conquerors. Sultan Mohammed reigned here about the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, at the time that so many kingdoms were swallowed up by the great irruptions of the Tartars. Mohammed the Chorasmanian ruled from the heart of Irac, which is the antient Media, to the other side of Sogdiana, and far into the country of the Tartars. He had moreover enlarged his dominions by the addition of a great part of India; so that he saw himself one of the most powerful sovereigns in the world, but still continued to acknowledge the caliph, whom he had stript of almost all his dominions, and who retained only the city of Bagdat.

From the other side of Taurus and Caucasus, to the eastward of the Caspian Sea, and from the river Volga to China, and to the northward as far as the frozen zone, extends that immense tract of country belonging to the antient Scythians, who were afterwards called Tatars, and by us Tartars, from Teteor-can, one of the most powerful of their princes. These countries appear to have

have been peopled from time immemorial, but the inhabitants scarcely ever built towns; nature having given these people, the same as to the Arabs and Bedouins, that relish for freedom and a wandering life, which made them always consider towns or cities as prisons, in which kings, say they, keep their slaves.

Their continual excursions, the frugal manner in which they were obliged to live, the small share of rest or indulgence they could enjoy, passing their lives either under a tent, in their chariots, or upon the bare ground, rendered them a race of hardy men, inured to fatigue, who, like so many wild beasts grown over-numerous, spread themselves on all sides, at a distance from their dens, at one time towards the countries about the Palus Mæotis, from whence, in the fifth century, they drove out the inhabitants, who rushed in upon the Roman empire; at another time towards the east and south, where they over-ran Armenia and Persia; and again, towards the coasts of China, and as far as the Indies. Thus has this mighty reservoir of barbarous and warlike men spread, at different times, its inundations over almost the whole of our hemisphere; and the people, who at present inhabit those deserts, destitute of all learning, know only that their ancestors have formerly conquered the world.

Each horde or tribe had its chief, and several of these chiefs were united under a Khan, to whom the neighbouring tribes of Dailailama paid a kind of homage, consisting chiefly in a slight tribute: the rest of the tribes had no other notion of divine worship than what consisted in sacrificing a few animals once a-year to the supreme being. I have never heard it said that they offered human sacrifices to the deity, nor that they had any belief of an evil and powerful being, such as the devil. The wants and occupations of a vagabond life preserved them likewise from a great deal of that superstition, which is the child of idleness; their only faults were those, which brutality naturally connects with a rough and savage way of life, and even these faults made them conquerors.

All

All that I have been able to gather of certainty, concerning the origin of the great revolution brought about by these Tartars towards the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is, that the hordes of Mongols, or Moguls, inhabiting the parts to the eastward of China, and who possessed the best iron mines, were the first who worked that metal, which indeed made them in the end masters of those, who were in possession of all the rest. Cal-Can, or Gassar-Can, grandfather to Gengis-Can *, finding himself at the head of these tribes, who were the best armed and disciplined of all the others, obliged many of his neighbours to become his vassals, and founded a kind of monarchy, such an one at least as could subsist among a wandering people, impatient of restraint. His son, whom our European historians call Pisouca, fixed this rising empire, and after him Gengis-Can extended it over the greatest part of the known globe.

Between his dominions and those of China, lay a powerful state, belonging to a Chan, whose ancestors had quitted the wandering life of the Tartars, to build themselves towns, after the example of the Chinese. This prince was known even in Europe, and was the person to whom we at first gave the name of Prester John: some critics have attempted to prove that the proper name is Priest John, though, most certainly, there never was the least grounds for either of the appellations †.

The truth is, that the reputation of his capital, which made some noise in Asia, had excited the greediness of certain Arabian merchants: these merchants were of the ancient communion of Nestorius; some of their priests accompanied them in this expedition, and, in order to recommend themselves to the Christian potentates, who
were

* According to Fadlallah, who wrote the life of Gengis-Chan, his grandfather's name was Pursan-Chan, and his father's Yefukay, or Pisuka Behadr.

† The name of this prince was Vang-Can, or Ung-Can: and the capital of his kingdom was Karacorum, situated about twenty days journey from the borders of China.

were at that time carrying on the holy war in Syria, they gave out that they had converted this great Can, the most powerful of the Tartarian chiefs, and had given him the name of John; and that he had even condescended to take upon him the priesthood. From this idle story came Prester John to be so famous in the old chronicles of the crusades. They afterwards went in search of a Prester John into Ethiopia, and gave this name to a black prince, who is partly a schismatic Christian, and partly a Jew; but the Tartar Prester John fell in a great battle by the arms of Gengis, after which the conqueror made himself master of his dominions, and caused himself to be chosen sovereign of all the Tartar Cans, or chiefs, under the name of Gengis-Can, which signifies King of Kings, or Grand-Can †, in room of that of Temugin ‡, which he bore before. It appears that the Tartar-Cans were accustomed to assemble diets at the beginning of the spring; these diets were called *Cour-ilté*. How do we know whether these assemblies and our plenary courts in the months of March and May, may not have had the same origin?

Gengis-Can published an ordonnance in this assembly, enjoining the belief of one God only, and that no one should be persecuted on the score of religion; a certain proof that his subjects were not all of the same belief. He established strict military discipline; the decurions, centurions, and captains of thousands, and the chiefs of ten thousands, under generals were all obliged to perform daily duty: and all such, who did not go to the field, were obliged to work one day in the week for the Can's service. Adultery was the more strictly forbidden, on account of polygamy being allowed. There was but one Tartar canton in which the inhabitants were permitted to continue the practice of prostituting their

† Abulgazi-Can, the historian, derives this name from *jin*, which, in the Mogul language, signifies *great*, and the termination *gbiz*, implying the superlative, i. e. *greatest* or *most great*.

‡ So called from Tamujen Can, a prince of the Moguls, whom his father defeated and slew.

their wives to their landlords. Sorcery was expressly forbidden, under pain of death: it has already been shewn, that Charlemagne punished this crime only by a fine; but it follows from hence, that the Germans, Franks, and Tartars, believed alike in the power of magicians. Gengis-Can played off a scheme in this great assembly of barbarous princes, which we frequently find employed in the history of the world; a prophet foretold him, that he should be one day master of the universe: his subjects, encouraged each other to fulfil the prediction.

Gengis issued a new law which was the most proper imaginable for making heroes of all his soldiers; he ordered the penalty of death for such, who, when called to the assistance of their fellow-soldiers in time of battle, should take to flight instead of succouring them. Having quickly made himself master of all the countries which lie between the river Volga and the wall of China, he afterwards fell upon that antient empire, which was then called Catai. He took Cambalu, the capital of North Catai; this is the same city which we now call Pekin. Thus master of the one half of China, he soon carried his victorious arms into the heart of Corea.

It is not in the imagination, even of the idlest of those who busy themselves in romantic fictions, to conceive that a prince should set out from the heart of Corea, which is at the eastern extremity of our globe, to carry the war into Persia and the Indies; and yet this Gengis-Can actually effected.

The caliph of Bagdat, named Nasser, very imprudently applied to him for his assistance; the caliphs at that time were, as we have already seen, what the indolent kings of France were formerly, under the tyranny of the mayors of the palace: the Turks were the mayors of the caliphs.

Sultan Mohammed, of the Corisnian race, of whom we have already made mention, was master of almost all Persia; and Armenia, ever in a defenceless condition, paid him tribute. The caliph Nasser, whom this Mohammed was determined to strip at last of even the
shadow

shadow of dignity which was left him, called Gengis-Can into Persia.

The Tartarian conqueror was at that time sixty years of age ; it appears that he knew how to govern, as well as to conquer ; and his life is one of the many instances, that there is no great conqueror, who is not at the same time a great politician ; a conqueror is a man whose head makes a happy and dextrous use of the arms of others. Gengis governed with so much skill that part of China which he had conquered, that there was not the least attempt made towards a revolt during his absence ; and he knew so well how to govern his own family, that his four sons, whom he made his four lieutenant-generals, shewed no other jealousy than who should best serve him ; and were the chief instruments of his victories.

Our fights in Europe appear like slight skirmishes, when compared with the battles which have at different times laid Asia in blood. Sultan Mohammed marched against Gengis at the head of four hundred thousand fighting men ; and on the other side of the river Jaxartes, near the city of Otrar, and in the immense plains, which lie without the city, in 42 degrees of latitude, he met with the Tartar's army, consisting of seven hundred thousand men, commanded by Gengis himself, assisted by his four sons: the Mahometans were defeated, and the city of Otrar taken. The besiegers made use of the battering ram on this occasion : it would seem that this war-engine was a kind of natural invention amongst all people, in the same manner as the bow and arrows.

From the countries beyond the Oxus the conqueror advanced against Bocara, a city famous throughout all Asia for its great commerce and manufactures of stuff, but especially for the sciences, which the Turkish sultans had learnt of the Arabs, and which flourished in Bocara and Samarcand : and, if we credit the Can Albugasi, to whom we are indebted for the history of the Tartars, *bocar* signifies *learned*, in the Tartar-Mogul language ; and it is from this etymology, of which there does not at present remain the least trace, that came
the

the name of Bocara. The Tartar, after having ransomed this city, reduced it to ashes, in like manner as Alexander did Persepolis. The eastern writers who have given us the history of Gengis-Can, alledge, that he did it to revenge the death of his ambassadors, whom the sultan had caused to be slain before the war. Whatever excuse there might be for Gengis, there could be none for Alexander.

All the countries to the eastward and southward of the Caspian Sea, were now subdued, and sultan Mohammed, a fugitive from province to province, dragging after him his treasures and his misfortunes, died at last, abandoned by his own people. After this the conqueror penetrated as far as the river Indus, and while one of his armies was reducing Indostan, another, under the command of one of his sons, subjected to his yoke all the provinces which are to the southward and westward of the Caspian Sea; Corassian, Irac, Shirvan, and Aran. They passed the iron-gates, not far from whence it is said that the city of Derbent * was built by Alexander the Great. This is the only passage to cross from this side of Upper Asia over the rugged and inaccessible hills of mount Caucasus. From thence directing its march along the Volga towards Moscow, this army, every where victorious, fell upon and ravaged Russia, where nothing was to be seen but seizing and slaying of cattle and slaves. Being loaded with plunder, they repassed the Volga, and returned back to Gengis-Can by the north-east coast of the Caspian Sea. It is said that no traveller had ever before made the circuit of this river; and that these troops were the first who had dared to venture such a journey; through rude and uncultivated countries inaccessible to any other men than Tartars, who wanted neither tents, provision nor baggage, but lived upon the flesh of their horses, as well as they could on that of other animals.

In

* *Darbend*, or *Derbend*, is a Persian word, signifying the fastening or shutting of gates; alluding to iron gates in a wall near this city, extending about a quarter of a league, from a mountain to the sea, through which gates all travellers were obliged to pass.

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In this manner was the one half of China, and of Indostan, almost all Persia as far as the Euphrates, the frontiers of Russia, Cassan, Astracan, and the whole of Great Tartary, reduced by the victorious arms of Gengis, in the space of less than eighteen years.

It is certain, that the part of Thibet where the great Lamy reigns, was included within the bounds of his empire, and that he suffered that pontiff to remain in the undisturbed possession of his own territories, as there were a great number of worshippers of that human idol in his armies. Conquerors have in all times spared the chiefs of Religions, both on account of the tribute of flattery they are sure to receive from them, and because the submission of the head of the church generally draws after it that of the people.

In his return back from India, through Persia, and the antient Sogdiana, he stopped at the city of Toncat, to the north east of the river Jaxartes, as the centre of his vast empire. Hither his sons, who had been victorious on all sides, with his generals, and all the tributary princes, brought him the treasures of Asia, which he distributed in largesses among his soldiers, who, till he shewed it them, were wholly unacquainted with this species of abundance. From hence came those gold and silver ornaments, which the Russians are every now and then finding, and other monuments of luxury that were buried in the savage countries of Tartary; the only remains of those numerous depredations.

During his stay here, Gengis held a triumphal plenary court in the plains of Toncat, which was as splendid and magnificent as that, which had prepared the way for so many victories, had been simple and warlike. Here might be seen a mixture of Tartarian barbarity and Asiatic luxury; the Cans and their vassals, who had been companions of his conquests, appeared seated in the antient Scythian chariots, which still continue in use among the inhabitants of Cim-Tartary; but these cars were covered with the rich stuffs, gold, and precious stones, which had been taken from the nations they had conquered. One of the sons of Gengis made him a present, at this assembly, of an hundred thousand horses.

It

It was at this meeting of the states-general of Asia, that he received the homage of above five hundred ambassadors from the conquered countries. From hence he hastened to reduce again to his yoke the vast territory of Tangut, on the frontiers of China. At the age of seventy he determined to go and complete the conquest of the great kingdom of China, which was the darling object of his ambi-

1226 tion; but, as he was on his march towards that empire, and within a few miles of the

great wall, he was seized with a disorder in his camp, which put a period to his life. Never did any man before or since himself subject so many different nations: he had conquered above one thousand eight hundred leagues of country from east to west, and above a thousand from north to south; but then as he conquered he laid all waste, and, excepting Bocara and two or three other cities which he permitted to be rebuilt, his whole empire, from the borders of Russia to the frontiers of China, was one continued ruin. China indeed suffered the least, because, after the taking of Peking, no other place offered to resist him. Before his death he divided his empire between his four sons, and each of them was one of the most powerful monarchs of the known world.

It is asserted, that a great number of human victims were sacrificed upon his tomb, and that this has continued to be done in Tartary at the death of any of his successors. This custom, worthy only of the most savage beings the earth produces, was common with the ancient Scythian princes, and has of late been found to prevail among the negroes of Congo. It is pretended, that it was looked upon as a point of honour among the domestics of the Cans of Tartary, to die with their lords, and that they even disputed for the honour of being interred with them. If this enthusiasm was common among them, and that death appeared a matter of such small moment to these people, they were certainly formed to subdue all other nations. The Tartars, whose admiration of Gengis-Can redoubled when they no longer beheld him,

imagined

imagined that he was not born in the same manner as other men, but that his mother had conceived him by the power of some heavenly influence; as if the rapidity of his conquests was not of itself a prodigy sufficiently great. If such men must have a supernatural being given to them for a parent, we must suppose it to be some evil demon.

The children of this great conqueror still added to the dominions their father had left them; Oçtai, and soon after his son Coblai-Can, completed the conquest of China; this is the Coblai whom Mark Paolo saw in the year 1260, when, together with his father and uncle, he penetrated into those countries, which were not even known by name at that time, and which he called Catai. Europe, where Mark Paolo rendered himself so famous for having travelled into the dominions, conquered by Gengis-Can, was for a long time ignorant both of these dominions and their conquerors.

Pope Innocent IV. indeed, in 1246, sent some Franciscan friars into Tartary; but these monks, who assumed the title of ambassadors, saw very little, were treated with great contempt, and did no kind of service.

So little was known of what passed in that considerable part of the world, that an impostor, named David, made St. Lewis believe, when he was in Syria, that he was sent to him from the great Can of Tartary, who was turned Christian; upon which St. Lewis sent the Monk Rubrugius thither, in 1258, to enquire into this affair. By the relation of Rubrugius it appears, that he was introduced to the grandson of Gengis-Can, who then reigned in China: but what lights could be procured from a monk, who was only a traveller among people whose language he was ignorant of, and who had not an opportunity of rightly distinguishing what he did see? Accordingly, all that he brought back with him from this voyage was, a great number of false notions, and some few truths of very little consequence.

Thus

Thus then, at the same time that the princes and barons of Christendom were bathing the kingdoms of Naples, Greece, Syria, and Egypt in blood, Asia was ravaged by the Tartars. Almost all our hemisphere suffered at the same time.

Gengis made use of the right which the eastern monarchs have always been in possession of, and which resembles that which the father of a family had by the Roman law, viz. that of chusing their own heirs, and dividing their possessions among their children, without any regard to the claim of eldership; he declared his third son, Octai, Great Can of Tartary, and his posterity reigned in the north of China till about the middle of the 14th century. The force of arms introduced the Tartars into this kingdom, and religious disputes drove them out again: the priests of the Lama were for exterminating the Bonzes; these latter found means to make the people revolt. The princes of the blood-royal of China took advantage of this ecclesiastical discord, and in the end drove out their conquerors, enervated by ease and plenty.

Another son of Gengis-Can, named Touchi, had for his share the provinces of Turquestan and Bactria, the kingdom of Astracan, and the country of the Usbec Tartars. The son of this Touchi travelled as far as Poland, into Dalmatia, Hungary, and to the very gates of Constantinople; this prince was called Batou-Can; the princes of Crim-Tartary descend from him in a male line, and the Usbec-Cans, who at this day inhabit the true Tartary, to the northward and eastward of the Caspian-Sea, derive their origin likewise from the same source; they are masters of the northern Bactria, but they only lead a wandering-life in that fine country, and lay waste all the parts they inhabit.

Tuti, or Tuli, another son of Gengis, had the kingdom of Persia, while his father was yet living. The son of this Tuti, named Houlacou, passed the Euphrates, which Gengis-Can had never done; he totally destroyed the empire of the caliphs in Bagdat, and made himself master of a part of Asia Minor, or Natolia, while the native masters of that delightful
part

part of the Constantinopolitan empire, were driven from their capital by the Christian crusaders.

A third son, named Zagatai, had the provinces on the other side of the Oxus, Candahor, the northern India, Cachemir, and Thibet: and the several descendants of these four monarchs preserved themselves, for some time, by the force of arms, in the possession of their monarchies, which had been founded on rapine.

If Charlemagne was blameable for dividing his dominions, Gengis-Can was doubtless commendable for what he did. The dominions of Charlemagne lay contiguous to each other, had nearly the same laws, were under the same religion, and might be governed by one man. Those of Gengis, infinitely more extensive, separated by vast deserts, and divided into different religious sects, could not continue for any length of time in obedience to one ruler.

In the mean time, the vast power of the Tartar Moguls, which was first founded in the year 1220, began to grow weak in all its parts: till Tamerlane, in little more than a century afterwards, established an universal monarchy in Asia, which again underwent a division.

Let us now turn our eyes towards the West, and see what passed in Europe in the thirteenth century.

C H A P. XLIX.

OF CHARLES of ANJOU, king of the two SICILIES;
and of the SICILIAN Vespers.

WHILE the grand revolution, brought about by the Tartars, was taking its course, and the sons and grandsons of Gengis-Can were dividing the greatest part of the world amongst them; while the crusades still continued to be carried on, and St. Lewis was unhappily making preparations for his last fatal one; the illustrious and imperial house of Suabia was

exterminated in a manner unheard of till then: the remains of its blood were shed upon a scaffold.

The emperor Frederic II. was at once the emperor of the popes, their vassal, and their enemy; and did them homage for the kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

His son, the emperor Conrad IV. took possession of this kingdom. I find it confidently asserted by most authors, that this Conrad was poisoned by his brother Manfred, or Mainfroi, Frederic's natural son; but I do not see that any one of them have brought the least proof of this assertion. Manfred seized upon this kingdom, which of right belonged to his nephew Conradin, son to the emperor Conrad, and grandson to Frederic I. The pope, as lord paramount, seemed to have a right to punish Manfred; but what right could he have to strip an helpless orphan of the dominions, to which he was the sole and lawful heir? But the prospect of advantage made every thing appear lawful. The popes both hated and feared this family, and only waited to find a prince, who, in receiving the investiture of these kingdoms, might be able to conquer them. Charles, count of Anjou, brother of St. Lewis, offered himself to the pope for this purpose, and the holy father soon concluded the matter with him, notwithstanding he had before promised the investiture to others.

This count of Anjou was already in possession of Provence in right of marriage; and what still considerably added to his power, was his having subdued the city of Marseilles: he moreover enjoyed a dignity, which a man of abilities might have turned greatly to his advantage, which was, his being the only senator

of Rome. Pope Urban IV. who stood in fear of this prince even when he called him into his assistance, gave him the investiture only on condition, that he should renounce all claim to that dignity at the end of three years, and pay an annual tribute of three thousand ounces of gold to the apostolic chair, for the feudal dependence of the kingdom of Naples; and if he should ever suffer the payment to run behind-hand more than two months, that he was

to be excommunicated. Charles made not the least hesitation to subscribe to these terms, or indeed any others, which they brought him. The pope permitted him to levy the tenth penny upon all the church revenues in France. He set out 1266 with store of money and troops, caused himself to be crowned at Rome, and gave Manfred battle on the plains of Beneventum, where, fortunately for him, that prince fell in the combat. The victor made the most rigid use of his conquest, and appeared to be as severe and cruel as his brother St. Lewis was humane.

In the mean time young Conradin, the true heir to the kingdom of Naples, was in Germany, while, during this interregnum, his country was laid waste; and, while they were stripping him of the kingdom of Naples, his adherents encouraged him to come and defend his inheritance. He was at that time only fifteen years old; but his courage far surpassed his age. He put himself at the head of an army, together with his kinsman the duke of Austria, and came to support his rights. The people of Rome were for him; and the excommunicated Conradin was received in that city, amidst the general acclamations of the inhabitants, at the very time that the pope did 1268 not dare to approach his own capital.

It may be asserted with truth, that of all the wars of this country, that carried on by Conradin was the most just; but it was likewise the most unfortunate; for the pope set up a crusade against him as well as against the Turk; and he, together with his relation, Frederic duke of Austria, was defeated and taken prisoner in Apulia. Charles of Anjou, who ought to have done justice to their valour, caused them to be condemned by the civil magistrates. Their sentence was, that they had merited death, for having taken up arms against the church; and these two princes were publicly executed at Naples by the common hangman. Pope Clement IV. to whom they seemed to have fallen a sacrifice, did not dare to approve of this piece of barbarity, which was the

more execrable, as it was concealed under the forms of justice. I cannot sufficiently express my surprize, that St. Lewis never reproached his brother with this base action, since he of all men, whom the Egyptians had spared under less favourable circumstances, ought more than any other to have condemned this cruelty of Charles of Anjou. The conqueror, instead of humouring the Neapolitans, irritated them by continual oppressions; so that himself and his whole nation were held in the utmost horror by them.

It is the general opinion, that a Sicilian gentleman, named John de Procida, disguised in the habit of a Franciscan friar, plotted that famous conspiracy, by which all the French were to be murdered at the same hour on Easter Sunday, on ringing the bell for vespers. It is certain that this John de Procida had prepared the minds of all the Sicilians for a revolt; that he went from Constantinople to Arrogan; and that the king of that country, Peter, son-in-law to Manfred, had joined with the Greek emperor against Charles of Anjou: but it is hardly probable that they had completely formed the plot of the Sicilian vespers. If any such plot had been formed, it ought to have been put in execution chiefly in the kingdom of Naples; and yet we do not hear of any one being murdered there.

Malespina relates, that a Frenchman, named
 1282 Droguet, was committing a rape upon a woman in Palermo on Easter-day, at the very time the people were going to vespers: the cries of the woman drew the populace to her assistance, who killed the Frenchman. This first impulse of private revenge animated the general hatred: the Sicilians encouraged by John of Procida, and stimulated by their own fury, cried out with one voice, that they would destroy the enemies of their country; and accordingly every Frenchman, that was found in Palermo, was put to death. The same fury spread itself through the whole island, and produced a general massacre. It is said that they ripped up women with child, and took the half-formed infants out of their wombs; and that even the priests themselves massacred all their French

French penitents. It is moreover affirmed, that only one gentleman of Provence, named des Porcellets, escaped the general slaughter: nevertheless, it is certain that the governor of Messina, with his whole garrison, retired out of the island into the kingdom of Naples.

The blood of Conradin was thus revenged, but not upon those by whom it had been shed. The Sicilian vespers proved the source of new miseries to this people, whose happy climate seemed only to have rendered them more wicked and more miserable.

It is now time to see what new disasters were produced in this same century by the abuse of crusades, and of religion in general.

C H A P. L.

Of the CRUSADE against the ALBIGENSES.

THE murderous disputes between the empire and the pontificate, the riches of the monasteries, and the abuse, which a number of bishops had made of their temporal power, promised, sooner or later, to irritate the minds of the people, and inspire them with a secret desire of independence. Arnold of Brescia had ventured, even in Rome, to stir up the people to shake off the yoke. They began to reason a good deal concerning religion in the twelfth century. Certain men rose up, who would acknowledge no law but that of the gospel, and preached up tenets nearly the same with those at present professed by the Protestants. These people were called Vaudois, because there were a great number of them in the valleys of Piedmont; Albigenes, from the city of Albi; and *Bon Hommes* (or good people) from the regularity of life on which they piqued themselves; lastly, they were called Manichæans, as general appellations at that time given to the heretics. Every one was surpris'd, towards the latter end of the twelfth century, to find the province of Languedoc filled with these sectaries.

In the year 1198, pope Innocent III. deputed two Cistercian monks to try these heretics. "We command, said he, the princes, counts, and all the lords of your province, to assist them with all their power against these heretics, by the authority which they have received for the punishment of evil doers: so that, when brother Ranier shall have pronounced sentence of excommunication against them, the lords do forthwith confiscate all their goods, banish them from their estates, and punish them with the utmost rigour, if they dare to resist. Now we have given power to brother Ranier to oblige the lords to comply with these our orders, by excommunication, and by interdict upon their estates, &c." This was the first origin of the inquisition.

An abbot of Citeaux was afterwards nominated, in conjunction with several other monks, to go to Toulouse, and execute what ought to have been done by the bishop of the place. This procedure provoked the count de Foix, and all the other princes of the country, who had been already brought over by the reformers, and were greatly irritated against the court of Rome.

This sect was in great part composed of burghers, reduced to indigence by the long slavery from which they had been scarce freed, and likewise by the crusades. The abbot of Citeaux made his appearance amongst them with the equipage of a prince; but he in vain assumed the character of an apostle; for the people cried out to him, "Either quit your pomp, or your sermon." A Spaniard, bishop of Osma, a very worthy man, who was then at Toulouse, advised the inquisitors to lay aside their sumptuous equipages, to walk on foot, to lead a life of abstinence, and imitate the behaviour of the Albigenses, the surest means of converting them. St. Dominic, who had accompanied this bishop, joined with him in setting an example of this apostolic life, and seemed at that time to wish, that no other arms might be employed against error. But Peter de Castelneau, one of the inquisitors, was accused of having made use of arms which suited his character,

character, by privately exciting several of the neighbouring lords against the count of Toulouse, and fomenting a civil war. This inquisitor was murdered; and the suspicion fell upon the count of Toulouse. 1207

Pope Innocent III. did not hesitate to release the subjects of the count of Toulouse from their oath of allegiance. Such was the treatment given to the descendants of that Raymond of Toulouse, who was the first in serving the Christian cause in the crusades.

The count, well apprized of the fatal consequences of a bull under certain circumstances, readily submitted to the satisfaction required of him. One of the pope's legates, named Milo, commanded him 1209 to repair to him at Valence, and there deliver up seven forts which he held in Provence, to enlist, in a crusade against the Albigenses, his own subjects, and to make the *Amende honorable*. To every one of which articles the count paid obedience.

There now appeared, on the one side, the duke of Burgundy, the count of Nevers, Simon count of Montfort, with the bishops of Sens, Autun, and Nevers, at the head of their respective troops, and the unfortunate count of Toulouse, in the midst of them, as their hostage: on the other side, a set of people animated by the spirit of fanaticism and religious conviction. The city of Beziers attempting to hold out against the crusaders, the inhabitants, who, upon its being taken, had fled for refuge to the churches, were all put to the sword, and their city reduced to ashes. The inhabitants of Carcassone, terrified at their fate, implored the mercy of the crusaders: upon which they had their lives spared, and were permitted to quit the city half naked, while their conquerors took possession of all their goods and estates.

The name of Macchabee, and Defender of the church, was given to count Simon of Montfort, who made himself master of a great part of the country, seizing into his hands the castles of all the suspected lords, laying siege to those who refused to surrender, and persecuting all the heretics, who dared to stand up in their own defence. Ecclesiastical historians themselves tell us, that upon Si-

mon of Montfort's giving orders to set fire to a pile of faggots, intended for the execution of these unhappy wretches, an hundred and forty of them, chanting a psalm, ran and threw themselves headlong into the midst of the flames. By thus unpeopling Languedoc, they ruined the count of Toulouse, who defended himself only by negotiations. He repaired to St Giles

1210 to meet the legates and abbots, who were the leaders of this crusade, where he pleaded his cause with tears before them; but was told that those tears came only from fury and resentment; and the legate gave him his choice, either to yield to Simon of Montfort all the lands, which this count had usurped, or to be excommunicated. On this occasion, however, the count of Toulouse had at least the courage to prefer excommunication. After the sentence was pronounced, he fled for refuge to the court of his brother-in-law, Peter, king of Arragon, who undertook to defend him, having almost as much reason as the count to be dissatisfied with the chief of the crusaders.

In the mean time, the eagerness of gaining indulgences and riches increased the number of crusaders. The bishops of Paris, Lisieux, and Bayeux, repaired to the siege of Lavaur. At this siege there were made prisoners eighty knights, with the lord of the town, who were all sentenced to be hanged; but the gibbet being broken down, they were delivered up to the crusaders, who massacred them all in cold blood. They threw the sister of the lord of Lavaur into a well,

1211 round which they burnt three hundred of the inhabitants, who refused to renounce their opinions.

Prince Lewis, who was afterwards king Lewis VIII. did indeed join these crusaders, in order to share in the spoils; but Simon of Montfort soon got rid of a companion who would have been his master.

It was the interest of the popes to bestow the conquered lands on Montfort; and the scheme was so well laid, that the king of Arragon could never, with all his mediation, procure the least favour for the count of Toulouse.

Toulouse. He therefore seems to have taken up arms, only when every other method failed him.

The battle which he fought against the crusaders near to Toulouse, and in which he was killed, passed for one of the most extraordinary that had ever happened. It is related by a multitude of writers, that Simon of Montfort, with only eight hundred horse and one thousand foot, attacked the army of the king of Arragon and the count of Toulouse, while they were carrying on the siege of Muret. They say, that the king of Arragon had with him an hundred thousand fighting men; and that there never was a more complete defeat; as also that Simon of Montfort, the bishop of Toulouse, and the bishop of Cominge, divided their army into three corps, in honour of the holy Trinity.

But is it likely, that so small an army as eighteen hundred men, going to attack an enemy an hundred thousand strong in the open field, should divide itself into three bodies? It was a miracle, some writers, perhaps, will say; but military gentlemen, who now-a-days read these strange stories, will be very apt to treat them as nonsensical and absurd.

After this victory the pope held a general council at Rome, whither the count of Toulouse came to ask forgiveness. I cannot discover what foundation he had to flatter himself, that they would restore him his dominions. He was very happy to escape with his liberty; and the council was even so generous as to allow him a pension out of his estates of four hundred marks of silver.

When Innocent III. was dead, count Raymond of Toulouse did not meet with milder treatment: he was besieged in his capital by Simon of Montfort; but here this conqueror, who had acquired such glory by doing so much mischief, had an end put to his successes, and to his life; being crushed to pieces by the fall of a great stone from the walls.

He left a son behind him on whom the pope conferred all his father's rights; but he could not give him

the same credit. The crusade against Languedoc now began to abate of its vigour. The son of old Raymond, who had succeeded his father, was excommunicated as he had been; upon which Lewis VIII. king of France, obtained from young Montfort the cession of all the countries, which he was not able to keep; but death put a stop to Lewis, in the midst of his conquests; and this state did not come entirely under the dominion of the kings of France, till the reign of Philip the Bold.

The popes divided the spoils, and the young count of Toulouse was obliged in 1228 to yield them all the county of Venaissin, containing five small cities. This was the place of his asylum, and a fief of the empire, as were all the territories situated on the other side of the Rhone. It is therefore to be wished, that the claim of the holy see on this little state had been less odious, and that it had not been the price of blood. The good understanding between the court of France and pope Gregory IX. wrested from the family of the counts of Toulouse these small remains of a patrimony, which they had been in possession of ever since the time of Charlemagne. The misunderstanding, between the emperor Frederic II. and this same pope, restored it to them again. The emperor, as lord paramount, and insulted in his prerogative, did this act of justice. Philip the Bold, king of France, upon taking possession afterwards of the large county of Toulouse, restored the Venaissin to the popes, which, by the liberality of the kings of France, they have ever since continued in possession of. The city and territory of Avignon were not included in this donation, but passed to the Anjou branch of the house of France, which then reigned in Naples, and remained with them, till the time that the unfortunate queen Joan of Walsle yielded to the popes the perpetual inheritance.

During the reign of St. Lewis, the pope sent two Dominicans and a Franciscan friar, with the title of Inquisitors, into the country of the Albigenses, which was at that time very quiet. The two Dominicans rendered themselves so odious there, that the inhabitants drove them out of the city. Rome itself was for a long
time

time obliged to suspend the inquisition; but at length it was established. Nevertheless, this sect still continued to subsist, though weak, few in number, and reduced to live in obscurity.

It was this sect that brought the scourge of the inquisition upon Europe. Pope Innocent IV. established it all over Italy, Naples excepted, 1251 as a new tribunal which was to fix the authority of the holy see on a firm foundation. We shall see in the course of this work what cruelties this tribunal exercises both in France and Spain.

C H A P. LI.

The STATE of EUROPE, in the thirteenth CENTURY.

WE have seen how Europe was exhausted of its men and money by the crusades, without their having in the least contributed to civilize it. Germany was one entire anarchy after the death of Frederic II. All the lords strove who should get most of the public revenues annexed to the imperial state; so that, when Robert of Hapsburg was elected emperor in 1273, they only granted him soldiers, with which he conquered Austria from Ottocaris, who had taken it from the house of Bavaria.

During the interregnum which preceded the election of this Rodolph, Denmark, Poland, and Hungary, entirely freed themselves from the slight tribute they were wont to pay the emperors.

Much about this time, likewise, several cities erected a municipal form of government, which still continues. They united together for their mutual defence against the encroachments of the great lords; and the hanse towns, Lubec, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzick, being in process of time joined by eighty others, formed a commercial republic, which was distributed into several

ral different states. The Austreques were now established, which are courts of arbitration in compacts between the lords, as well as between the towns; and hold the places of laws and courts of justice, which were wanting in Germany.

Italy was formed into a new plan of government before and under the reign of Rodolph. Several cities having assumed their freedom, it was confirmed to them for a sum of money. At this time it appeared as if Italy might be for ever separated from the German dominion.

The German lords, in order to render themselves more powerful, were all of them desirous of having a weak emperor; and the four princes and their archbishops, who had by little and little arrogated to themselves the right of election, had joined with some other princes in chusing Rodolph of Hapsburg for emperor, only on account of his not being possessed of any considerable territories. This Rodolph was a Swiss lord, who had rendered himself formidable by being one of those chiefs, called by the Italians *Condottieri* *. He had been champion for the abbot of St. Gall, in a dispute waged between him and the bishop of Basil, about some pipes of wine. He had also relieved the town of Strasburg: but his fortune was so little proportioned to his courage, that he was for some time steward of the household to that very Ottocaris, king of Bohemia, who, when he was afterwards pressed to do him homage as emperor, replied, "That he owed him nothing, for he had always paid him his wages." The princes of Germany did not at that time foresee that this very Rodolph would be the founder of a house, which continued for a long time to be the most flourishing in Europe, and which has more than once been on the point of acquiring as great a power in the empire as that of Charlemagne. This power took a considerable time in forming; and at the end

* *Condottieri*, literally conductors, though generally applied to carriers, and those who keep mules for hire. It was the name formerly given to soldiers of fortune, who raised and commanded mercenary troops.

end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century in particular, the empire had little or no influence over Europe.

France would have been happy under a sovereign, such as St. Lewis was, had it not been for that fatal fondness for crusades, which occasioned all his misfortunes, and at length cost him his life on the sands of Afric. We may perceive, by the great number of vessels fitted out for these fatal expeditions, that France might have easily acquired a large maritime commerce. The statutes of St. Lewis relating to trade; the new police established by him in the city of Paris; his pragmatic sanction, by which he confirmed the discipline of the Gallic church; his four grand bailiwicks for the trying of causes among his vassals, and which gave rise to the parliament of Paris; his regulations and exactness with regard to the coin, do all of them plainly shew, that France might at that time have been made a very flourishing kingdom.

As to England, it was as happy under Edward I. as the manners of the times would allow. The country of Wales was annexed to it; and it had conquered Scotland, which was obliged to receive a king from the hand of Edward. Indeed the English were no longer in possession of Normandy nor Anjou; but they still had the whole province of Guienne. Edward I. had but a slight and short war with France; but this is to be attributed to the almost continual difficulties he was involved in at home, either at the time he was making the conquest of Scotland, or when he afterwards lost it.

We shall presently allot a more particular and extensive article to Spain, which we have left for a long time a prey to the Saracens. It now remains to say a word or two of Rome.

The popedom was in the same state in the thirteenth century, in which it had been for so long time before. The popes, though not well settled in Rome, and having but a tottering authority in Italy, being at best but masters of a few places in St. Peter's patrimony and of Umbria, still continued to give away crowns, and sit in judgment upon kings.

In

In 1289, pope Nicholas solemnly determined at Rome the disputes between the king of Portugal and his clergy. We have seen that in 1283, pope Martin IV. deposed the king of Arragon, and gave his dominions to the king of France, who was not able to put the Pope's bull in force. Boniface VIII. gave Sardinia and Corsica to another king of Arragon, called James the Just.

In the year 1300, when the succession to the crown of Scotland was in dispute, pope Boniface VIII. wrote thus to king Edward: "You ought to know that it is our place to give a king to Scotland, which has always in full right belonged, and still does belong to the church of Rome; but if you pretend to have any right thereto, send your lawyers to us, and we will do you justice; for we reserve this affair wholly to ourselves."

When, about the end of the thirteenth century, some princes of Germany deposed Adolph of Nassau, successor to the first prince of the house of Austria; they pretended a bull from the pope for deposing Nassau, by which they gave the pope that power, which of right belonged to themselves. This same Boniface, hearing of the election of Albert, wrote thus to the electors: "We command you to proclaim publicly, that Albert, who calls himself king of the Romans, must come and appear before us, to answer to the charge of high treason, and of excommunication incurred."

It is known, that Albert of Austria, instead of appearing to these summons, gave Nassau battle near Spire, where he defeated and killed him; and that Boniface, after having loaded him with excommunication, lavished his benedictions as profusely on him in 1303, when he stood in need of his assistance against Philip the Fair. Then we find him supplying, by the plenitude of his power, all defects or irregularities in Albert's election; and conferring on him by his bull the kingdom of France, which of right belonged to the emperors. Thus can interest change sides, and without ceremony make use of every thing holy or prophane that will answer its end.

But other crowned heads tamely submitted to the papal yoke. Mary, queen to Charles the Lame, king
of

of Naples, having laid claim to the kingdom of Hungary, carried her cause before the pope and his cardinals; and the pope adjudged the kingdom to this princess by default. Nothing was wanting to this sentence but a good army.

However we shall soon see, that France did not pay quite so much deference to Boniface. On the whole it is sufficiently well known, that this pontiff instituted the jubilee; and that he added a second crown to the pontifical cap, to signify the two powers with which he was invested. John XXII. afterwards added a third: but John had not two naked swords carried before him, as Boniface had, when he went to distribute his indulgencies.

CHAP. LII.

OF SPAIN, in the twelfth and thirteenth CENTURIES.

WHEN the Moors had been driven out of the kingdoms of Toledo and Valentia by the Cid, at the end of the eleventh century, Spain was divided into several governments. The kingdom of Castile contained the two Castiles, Leon, Galicia, and Valentia. The kingdom of Arragon was then annexed to Navarre. Andalusia, a part of Murcia, and Granada, still belonged to the Moors. Barcelona was governed by counts, who did homage to the kings of Arragon. One third of Portugal belonged to the Christians; but this was only a county. The son of a duke of Burgundy, descendent of Hugh Capet, whom they called Count Henry, had made himself master of it, at the beginning of the twelfth century.

A crusade would have been more effectual in driving the Moors out of Spain than out of Syria; but it is very probable, that the Christian princes of Spain were not very desirous of this foreign aid, chusing rather to
tear

tear their country to pieces among themselves, and dispute it with the Moors, than see it invaded and stript by crusaders.

Alphonso, surnamed The Battle-giver, king of Arragon and Naples, took Sarragossa from the
1114 Moors, which city afterwards became the capital of the kingdom of Arragon, and never again returned under the dominion of the Moors.

Count Henry's son, whom I shall call Alphonso of Portugal ; to distinguish him from the many other kings of that name, took Lisbon, the best port in

1147 Europe, from the Moors, together with all the rest of Portugal, the two Algarves excepted. He gained several battles, and at length caused himself to be crowned king of Portugal. Pope Alexander III. did not fail on this occasion to pretend, that it was he who gave him his crown, and demand-

1160 ed a tribute of two marks of gold from him ; to which the king submitted ; knowing that, in the disputes between so many different sovereigns in Spain, the pope's suffrage might sometimes incline the balance in favour of the party he espoused.

A very few efforts would now have been sufficient to have driven the Moors entirely out of this part of the continent : but as to this, it was necessary that the Spanish Christians should be united among themselves ; whereas they were almost perpetually at war with one another. At one time the kingdoms of Castile and Arragon were in arms against each other, and at another Navarre was engaged against Arragon, and sometimes these three provinces were all of them at war together ; add to this, that each kingdom was frequently disturbed by intestine broils of its own. There were three kings of Arragon, who successively annexed a great part of Navarre to their dominions, while the Moors were in possession of the rest. Alphonso the Battle-giver, who died in 1134, was the last of these three kings. We may judge of the temper of those times, and the badness of the administration, by the king's will, who left his kingdoms to the knights templars and knights of Jerusalem. This was, in fact, bequeathing a civil war

as his last legacy. Fortunately, however, these knights were not in a condition to enforce this will. The states of Arragon, who still preserved their freedom, chose for their king Don Ramirez, brother to the deceased monarch; though he had embraced a monastic life for upwards of forty years, and had lately been made a bishop. He was called The Priest-king; and pope Innocent II. granted him a dispensation to marry.

In these commotions Navarre was rent from Arragon, and became a kingdom of itself: it 1134 afterwards fell by marriage to the counts of Champagne; it next belonged to Philip the Fair and the house of France; and at last came to the families of Foix and Albert; and is now swallowed up in the Spanish monarchy.

During these divisions, the Moors strengthened themselves, and retook Valentia. The 1158 frequent incursions, they made, gave rise to the order of Calatrava. The monks of Citteaux, finding themselves powerful enough to defray the expences of defending the city of Calatrava, armed their convert brothers, together with several squires, and fought under the badge of the scapulary. Soon after this the order itself was instituted, which is now neither religious nor military; every person is allowed to marry once, and it consists in nothing more than enjoying several considerable commanderies in Spain.

The quarrels among the Christians still subsisted, of which the Mahometans at different times made their advantage. In the year 1197, a king of Navarre, named Don Sancho, being persecuted by those of Castile and Arragon, was obliged to go to Africa, and implore succours from the miramolin, or emperor of Morocco; but this step, which was so likely to produce a revolution, had no such effect.

Heretofore, when almost all Spain was united under king Rodriguez, a prince of great courage, though somewhat incontinent, it was subdued in a less space than two years; and now that it was divided among so many different powers, jealous of each other, neither the African emperor, nor the Moorish king of Andalusia, could make

make any conquest in it. The reason was, that the Spaniards were become better soldiers, the country almost full of strong garrisons, and all parties united in a time of general danger; add to this, that the Moors were as imprudent in their conduct as the Christians.

At length all the Christian nations of Spain 1200 joined together, to make head against the African forces, which were preparing to fall upon them.

Miramolin Mahomet Ben Joseph, having crossed the sea with an army of near one hundred thousand men, and being joined by the Moors of Andalusia, assured himself of making a conquest of Spain. The rumour of this great armament roused the attention of some French knights; the kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, united their powers to withstand the common danger; the kingdom of Portugal furnished a

1212 body of troops; and these two great armies met together in the defiles of the Black Mountain, or Sierra Morena, as it is called, on the borders of Andalusia, and the province of Toledo. The archbishop of Toledo was by the side of the king of Castile, Alphonso the Noble, and carried the cross at the head of the troops. Miramolin had in one hand a sabre, and in the other the alcoran. The Christians gained the victory; and this day, the 16th of July, still continues to be celebrated every year in Toledo: but this victory was more glorious than useful; the Moors of Andalusia were strengthened by the remains of the African army, while that of the Christians was presently dispersed.

Almost all the knights, who had been present at this battle, returned to their respective homes after it was over. In those days, though they knew how to fight, they were ignorant of the art of making war; and the Moors were still less acquainted with it than the Christians. Neither Moors nor Christians kept an army constantly in the field.

Spain,

Spain, taken up with her own misfortunes for the space of five hundred years, did not begin to take part in the troubles of the rest of Europe, till the time of the crusades against the Albigenſes. We have ſeen that Peter I. king of Arragon, was obliged to aſſiſt his vaſſals of Languedoc and the country of Foix, who were oppreſſed on account of religion; and that he died fighting againſt Simon of Montfort, who had carried away his ſon, and conquered Languedoc from him. His widow, Mary of Montpellier, who had retired to Rome, pleaded her ſon's cauſe before Innocent III. beſeeching him to uſe his authority to get him ſet at liberty. There have been ſome ſhort periods of time, in which the court of Rome gained great honour by her behaviour; this was one of them. Innocent ordered Simon of Montfort to reſtore this child to the people of Arragon, which order was immediately complied 1213 with. Had the popes always made the ſame uſe of their power, they would have become the law-givers of the world.

This young king, whoſe name was James, was the firſt of the kings of Arragon to whom the ſtates of that kingdom took the oath of allegiance. It was he who took the iſland of Majorca from the 1238 Moors, and drove them out of the fine kingdom of Valentia, a country favoured by nature, which has endowed its inhabitants with a manly ſtrength, and furniſhed them with every thing that can delight their ſenſes. I do not know how ſo many hiſtorians can aſſert, that the city of Valentia was not above a mile in circumference, and, at the ſame time, that upwards of fifty thouſand Moors marched out of it. How could ſo ſmall a town contain ſo great a number of people?

This ſeemed a period marked out for the glory of Spain and the expulſion of the Moors. Ferdinand III. kind of Caſtile and Leon, took the famous city of Cordova from them, which was the reſi- 1236 dence of their firſt kings, and was a much finer city than Valentia. Here they had built their magnificent moſque *, and a number of noble palaces.

This

* See chap. xxxiv. vol. I.

This Ferdinand also subdued the Moors of the province of Murcia: this country, though of a small extent, is extremely fertile, and the Moors used to get a great quantity of silk here, which they manufactured into curious stuffs. In short, after a siege of

1248 sixteen months, he made himself master of Seville, the most opulent city the Moors had in their possession. Death at length put an end to his successes. If divine honours are due to

1252 those who have been the deliverers of their country, Spain with as much reason reverences the name of Ferdinand, as France invokes her St. Lewis. He enacted wholesome and wise laws, as well as the king of France, and like him erected several new courts of judicature. It is likewise said, that

1248 he instituted the royal council of Castile, which has subsisted ever since his time.

He had for a minister one Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, a man who did no service to his country, and whom we must not confound with that Ximenes, who was afterwards regent of Castile.

The kingdoms of Castile and Arragon were at that time very powerful; but we are not to imagine that their kings were absolute: there was no absolute monarch then in Europe, and the nobles of Spain kept their king in stricter limits than in any other kingdom whatsoever. The people of Arragon remember to this day the formulary, used at the inauguration of their kings. The grand justiciary of the kingdom addressed him in the name of the states in these words: *Nos que valemos tanto como vos, os hacemos nuestro rey y senor; con tal que guardéis nuestros fueros, si no, no.* "We, who are equal with yourself, do constitute you our king, on condition that you maintain the laws*; otherwise not."

The

* *Fueros* signifie. privileges, not laws, and comes from *Forum*, the place at Rome where those privileges were defended.

The grand justiciary did not consider this as an empty matter of form, but pretended to have a right to accuse the king before the states, and to sit as president at the trial. I do not, however, meet with any instance of their having put this privilege in force *.

Castile possessed as extensive privileges, and the royal authority was as much limited there by the states, as in Arragon; in short, we may easily judge, that in countries, where there were such a number of lords, it was as difficult for the kings to conquer their subjects as to drive out the Moors.

Alphonso, surnamed The Astronomer, or The Wise, son to St. Ferdinand, experienced the truth of this. It has been said of him, that, while he was studying the heavens, he lost the earth; this trivial thought would have some justice in it, had Alphonso neglected business for study; but that he never did: the same fund of understanding, which had made him a great philosopher, made him likewise an excellent king. He is accused by several authors of atheism, for having said, on some occasion, "That if he had been of God's privy-council, he would have given him some good advice relating to the motion of the planets." But these authors do not consider that this piece of pleasantry of this wise king fell upon the Ptolemaic system, of whose insufficiency and contradictions he could not but be fully sensible. This prince rivalled the Arabians in the sciences; and the university of Salamanca, which had been erected by his father, produced no one equal to him: his fables, called after him the Alphonfine Fables, remain to this day monuments of glory to him, and of shame to those princes, who make a merit of their ignorance; but at the same time it must be owned, that they were compiled by Arabians.

The

* It is a little remarkable, that our author should make such a reflection, in this place, and, in the very next page, tell us, that this very king was deprived of his crown by an assembly of the states.

The difficulties, with which his reign was disturbed, were certainly not the effects of that love for the sciences which rendered Alphonso so illustrious, but the consequences of his father's extravagant expences; for as St. Lewis drained France by his crusades, so did St. Ferdinand ruin Castile for a time, even by the acquisitions he made, as they generally cost him more than they were worth.

After the death of St. Ferdinand, his son had the kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon to encounter, who were grown jealous of his power.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, which this philosophic prince had to struggle with, the princes of the empire cast their eyes on him as the most proper person for their emperor, and actually made him an offer of the imperial diadem; and if Rodolph of Hapsburg was chosen in his room, I am of opinion that it may be wholly attributed to the great distance, which divided Castile from Germany. Alphonso had at least given proofs that he merited the empire, by the manner in which he governed the kingdom of Castile. His collection of laws, called *Las partidas* *, still continue in that country to form the principal basis of their jurisprudence.

In his old age, he saw his son Sancho III. 1283 rebel against him; but certainly the son's crime is by no means the father's shame.

This Don Sancho was the only son of his second nuptials, and pretended, during his father's life-time, to be declared heir to the crown, in prejudice to the rights of the grand-children by the first marriage; and a meeting of his faction, under the title of The States, went so far as to make him an offer of the crown. This audacious attempt is a fresh proof of what I have so often said, that there was no law in Europe at that time; and that almost every thing was decided, according to the occurrences of the times, and the caprices of mankind.

Alphonso the Wise was now reduced to the grievous necessity of joining with the Moors against his son and rebellious

* So called from being divided into heads and chapters.

rebellious Christian subjects. This was not the first alliance which Christians had entered into with Mahometans against other Christians; but it was certainly the most just.

Alphonso invited the miramolin of Morocco to his assistance, who thereupon crossed the sea; and the African and Castilian monarchs met at Zara on the confines of Granada. The behaviour and speech of the miramolin on this occasion deserves to be perpetuated by history to all posterity. When they met, he gave the place of honour to Alphonso, with these words: "I treat you thus; because you are unfortunate, and enter into alliance with you; purely to revenge the common cause of all kings and all fathers." Alphonso gave his son battle, and overcame him; a further proof how well he deserved 1284 to reign: but he died soon after his victory.

The king of Morocco was obliged to return to his dominions; and Don Sancho, the unnatural son of Alphonso, and the usurper of the throne of his nephews, succeeded to the crown, and even reigned happy and undisturbed.

The dominion of Portugal at that time contained the two Algarves, from which the Moors had been at length driven out. Algarves, in the Arabian language, signifies The fruitful country; and here let us not forget to observe, that Alphonso the Wise had greatly assisted the Portuguese in making this conquest; all which, in my opinion, proves, beyond contradiction, that Alphonso had no reason to repent of having cultivated the sciences, as some historians would seem to insinuate, who, in order to acquire the doubtful reputation of politicians, affect to dispute those arts, which they ought to honour; besides Alphonso was so far from neglecting temporal matters, that he obtained from pope Gregory X. the gift of certain tenths out of the revenues of the clergy of Leon and Castile, which he transmitted to his successors.

His family, indeed, was involved in some troubles, but it still strengthened itself against the Moors; and his

his grandson, Ferdinand IV. took Gibraltar
 1303 from them; which was not so difficult a conquest then as it is at present.

This Ferdinand IV. is by writers called the Summoned, because, say they, having one day in a fit of anger ordered two noblemen to be thrown from the top of a rock; they, before they were pushed off, summoned him to appear in the presence of God within a month from that day, at the end of which time he died. It is to be wished that this story was true, or at least believed to be so by those, who think they have a right to do every thing with impunity. This prince was father to the famous Peter the Cruel, of whose excessive severity we shall have occasion to take notice; and who, tho' of the most implacable disposition, and the most cruel in his punishment, died without being summoned, like his father, to God's tribunal.

Arragon, which, as we have already seen, had fortified itself, gained an increase of power by the acquisition of Sicily.

The popes pretended to a power of disposing of the kingdom of Arragon, for two reasons: the first was, that they considered it as a fief of the church of Rome; and the second, that Peter III. surnamed the Great, who was accused of the massacre of the Sicilian vespers, had been excommunicated; not for having had a share in that massacre, but for having taken Sicily, which the Pope would not bestow on him. His kingdom of Arragon therefore was, by the Pope's decree, transferred to Charles of Valois, grandson to St. Lewis; but this bull could not be carried into execution. The house of Arragon remained in a flourishing state; and soon after the popes, who had endeavoured to destroy it, contributed to enrich it still more.

1294 Boniface VIII. in order to deprive the Genoese and Pisans of the possession of Sardinia and Corsica, which they were disputing with each other, bestowed those two islands on James IV. king of Arragon, surnamed the Just.

At that time the kingdoms of Castile and France were in strict union with each other, as being both
 enemies

enemies to the house of Arragon; so that the French and Castilians were allies in their kingdoms, in their nations, and in their private persons.

What passed at that time in France, during the reign of Philip the Fair, and in the beginning of the fourteenth century, next demands our attention.

C H A P. LIII.

OF PHILIP the FAIR, and of Pope
BONIFACE VIII.

THE reign of Philip the Fair, who came to the throne in 1285, proved a remarkable æra in France, by the admission of the third state into the general assemblies of the nation, by the institution of the supreme tribunals, called parliaments, by the first erection of a new peerage, in favour of the duke of Brittany, by the abolition of duels in civil matters, and by the law of appanages, by which the succession was limited wholly to the heirs male. We shall at present confine ourselves to two other objects; namely, the quarrels of Philip the Fair with pope Boniface VIII. and the extinction of the order of knights templars.

We have already seen, that Boniface VIII. of the family of the Cajetani, resembled Gregory VII. was more learned in the canon-law, and not the least inferior in his zeal for subjecting all powers to the church, and the whole church to the holy see. Italy was more than ever divided by factions of the Guelphs and Gibellines; the latter were originally partizans of the emperors; and the empire being at that time little better than an empty name, the Gibellines made use of that name to strengthen and aggrandize themselves. Boniface had for a long time, while a private man, been of the Gibelline party; but we readily suppose that he turned Guelphean when he came to the papal crown. It is reported of him, that as he

was offering the ashes on an Ash-Wednesday to an archbishop of Genoa, that prelate threw some of them at him, as is the custom, and, instead of saying "Remember thou art a man," he said, "Remember thou art a Gibelline." The family of the Colonnæ, who are the chief barons of Rome, and possess several noble villas in the centre of St. Peter's patrimony, were of the Gibelline faction, and their interest with the popes was the same as that of the German lords with the emperor, and of the French nobility with the king of France. The lords opposed their feudal power in almost every thing to the sovereign power.

The other barons in the neighbourhood of Rome were in the same situation, and they united themselves to the kings of Sicily and the Gibellines of the Italian cities. We must not be surprized therefore, if the popes at all times persecuted them, and were persecuted by them; almost all these lords had, at one and the same time, diplomas as vicars of the holy see, and vicars of the empire, which must necessarily prove the source of civil wars, a source which not even the respect due to religion could close up, and which the insolence of Boniface VIII. only served to increase.

These excesses were not to be suppressed, but by the still more violent ones of Alexander VI. above a century afterwards. The pontificate, in the time of Boniface VIII. was no longer in possession of all those territories, which were held by Innocent III. and which reached from the port of Ostia to the Adriatic Sea. It pretended indeed to the supreme dominion, and possessed some cities in its own right, but it was still in the rank of very middling powers. The great revenue of the popes consisted in what was furnished them by the whole body of the church, in the tenths which they frequently collected from the clergy, in dispensations, and in taxes.

In such a situation, it was certainly most prudent for Boniface to keep fair with a power, who was able to deprive him of a great part of these revenues, and strengthen the Gibelline faction against him. Accordingly,

cordingly, at the beginning of his disputes with the king of France, he invited Charles of Valois, brother to Philip, over to Italy, who arrived there with some few horsemen. The Pope soon afterwards made him marry the grand-daughter of Baldwin II. emperor of Constantinople, who had been dispossessed of his dominions, and then solemnly declared him emperor of the East; so that, in the space of two years, he had disposed of the empires of the East and West, and of France; for we have already observed, (in the forty-second chapter) that when the same pope was reconciled to Albert of Austria, in 1303, he made them a gift of the kingdom of France. Of these three presents one only however was received, which was the empire of Germany, because Albert was already in actual possession of it.

The Pope, before his reconciliation with the emperor, had bestowed another title on Charles of Valois, which was that of Vicar of the Empire, in Italy, and particularly in Tuscany. He thought, that, as he nominated the masters, he might certainly appoint the vicars. Charles of Valois, in order to please his benefactor, commenced a violent persecution against the Gibelline faction in Florence; and yet, at the very time that Charles was doing him this piece of service, Boniface insulted his brother, the king of France, and drove him to the greatest extremities. Nothing more clearly proves that passion and animosity frequently get the better, even of self-interest.

Philip the Fair, who wanted to spend a great deal of money, and had but very little, pretended that the clergy, as being the richest order in the state, ought to contribute to the wants of the kingdom, without the permission of Rome. The Pope, on the other hand, wanted to have the money which had been raised by a tenth penny for the assistance of the holy Land, which was no longer in a condition to be relieved, and was under the dominion of a descendent of Gengis-Can. This money king Philip had made use of, for carrying on the war in Guienne in 1301 and 1302, against Edward king of England. This was the first occasion

of the quarrel between the pope and the king; and the insolence of a bishop of Pamiers put things into a still greater ferment. This man had caballed against the king in his diocese, which at that time was under the jurisdiction of the crown; and the Pope presently after nominated him his legate to the French court. This subject, being thus invested with a dignity, which, according to the court of Rome, made him equal with the king himself, comes to Paris, braves his sovereign, and threatens to lay his kingdom under an interdict. A layman, who had behaved in this manner, would have been punished with death; but here the king was obliged to use the utmost precaution, even in securing the person of this insolent churchman, and at last was forced to deliver him into the hands of his metropolitan, the archbishop of Narbonne.

Immediately upon this, out comes a bull from the pope, in which it is declared, "That the vicar of Jesus Christ is placed with full power over the kings and kingdoms of the earth." At the same time all the bishops of France received an order from his holiness to repair to Rome. A nuncio, who was only arch-deacon of Narbonne, comes and presents this bull and these orders to the king, at the same time declaring to him, that he must acknowledge, as well as all other princes, that he holds his crown of the pope. This insolence was answered with a moderation, which appeared little consistent with Philip's character: he contented himself with ordering the pope's bull to be thrown into the fire, and sent the nuncio back to his own country; at the same time prohibiting the bishops from stirring out of the kingdom. Notwithstanding which, there were at least forty of them, with several of the heads of religious orders, who went to Rome.

The king was now obliged to call a general assembly of the states, only to decide this plain
 1303 question, Whether the bishop of Rome was king of France or not?

Cardinal le Moine, a Frenchman by birth, who had now no other country but Rome, came to Paris to negotiate matters, and, if he could not succeed, to
 excommunicate

excommunicate the kingdom. This new legate had likewise orders to bring the king's confessor, a Dominican friar, with him to Rome, in order to give an account of his own conduct, as well as of the king's. Every thing that human art could invent to exalt the pope's authority was exhausted on this occasion; the bishops were all submissive to him; new religious orders, immediately depending on the holy see, every where carried his standard; a king, who confessed his most secret thoughts, or at least was supposed to confess them to one of those monks; and then, to complete the whole, this monk summoned by the pope, his master, to come and give an account at Rome of the conscience of his penitent. Notwithstanding which, Philip did not yield; but seized upon the temporalities of all the absent prelates. The states appeal to a future general council, and a future pope: an expedient which betrayed a conscious weakness; for to appeal to the pope was acknowledging his authority, and what occasion have mankind for either council or pope to know that all governments are independent, and that we owe obedience only to the laws of our country?

The pope then deprived all the ecclesiastical bodies of France of the right of election, and the universities of their right of conferring degrees, and even of teaching, as if he was revoking a gift of his own granting. These were still but feeble arms; and he in vain endeavoured to strengthen them by the forces of the German empire; Albert of Austria not being sufficiently strong to afford him any assistance.

The French king was now at full liberty to treat the pope as a prince, with whom he was at open war. Accordingly he joined with the family of Colonna; and William de Nogaret goes into Italy under plausible pretences, where he privately raises a few horse, with which he joins Sciarra Colonna. They surprised the pope at Agnani, a town in his own demesnes, and the place of his birth, crying out, "Let the pope die, and long live the French!" The pontiff however did not lose his courage; he dressed himself in his cope,

put his tiara upon his head, and holding the keys in one hand, and the cross in the other, he presented himself with an air of majesty before Colonna and Nogaret. It is very doubtful whether Colonna had not the brutality to strike him; however, the writers of that time say, that he cried out to him, "Tyrant, renounce the pontificate, which thou dishonourest, as thou hast obliged Celestine to renounce it." Boniface replied, with an air of intrepidity, "I am pope, and I will die pope." The French then plundered his palace, and made themselves masters of his treasure. But after these outrages, which had more the appearance of a robbery than the just revenge of a great king, the inhabitants of Agnani, perceiving the inconsiderable number of the French, and ashamed to leave their countryman and their pope in the hands of foreigners, fell upon them, and drove them out of the town. Boniface then returned to

1305 Rome, meditating revenge; but died almost immediately upon his arrival.

Philip the Fair pursued his enemy even into the grave, by endeavouring to get his memory condemned in council; and actually engaged Clement V. who was born his subject, and who then held his see at Avignon, to declare the process, commenced against the pope, his predecessor, equitable and in form. He was there accused of having prevailed on pope Celestine V. his predecessor, to resign the pontificate; of having procured his own election by illegal methods; and, in short, of having put Celestine to death in prison. This last charge was indeed but too justly founded; one of his own domestics, named Maffredo, and thirteen other witnesses, deposed publicly that he had more than once insulted the religion, from whence he derived his power, by saying, "How profitable has this fabulous story of Jesus Christ been to us!" and consequently, that he denied the mysteries of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and Transubstantiation. These depositions are still to be seen in the collection of juridical inquests. An accusation is generally strengthened by the number of witnesses, but here they

they served rather to weaken it; for is it at all likely, that a sovereign pontiff should have made such a declaration, before thirteen witnesses, as no one would chuse to do before a single person? Clement V. was prudent enough to stifle by delays an enquiry, which would have proved very dishonourable to the church.

Some time afterwards, all Europe and Asia were astonished by an event, which had also its source in the vindictive spirit of Philip the Fair.

C H A P. LIV.

Of the Punishment of the **KNIGHTS TEMPLARS**, and the Suppression of that Order.

AMONG the many contradictions which enter into the government of this world, it is certainly none of the least, that there should be such an institution as that of armed monks, who make a vow of living at the same time as anchorets and soldiers.

The knights templars were accused of uniting in their order, every bad quality of the two professions; namely, the debauchery and cruelty of the soldier, and that insatiable thirst of gain, which is imputed to those of the great orders, who have made a vow of poverty.

While they and the knights hospitallers of St. John were enjoying the fruits of their labours, the Teutonic order, which, as well as theirs, was first instituted in the Holy Land, made themselves masters, in the thirteenth century, of Prussia, Livonia, Courland, and Samogitia. The Teutonic knights were accused of reducing the clergy as well as the peasants to a state of slavery; of robbing them of their possessions; of usurping the rights of the bishops; and of exercising every shocking act of rapine and plunder. But conquerors are generally exempt from a rigid enquiry.

The templars had made themselves objects of envy, by living amongst their countrymen with all that pomp
F 4
and

and splendor, which are the attendants of great wealth, and in those licentious pleasures, in which soldiers generally indulge themselves, when unrestrained by the marriage curb.

The severity of the taxes, and the mal-
 1306 administration of Philip and his council, in regard to the coin, raised a sedition in Paris. The knights templars, who had the keeping of the king's treasury, were accused of having been concerned in the mutiny; and we have already seen, that Philip the Fair was implacable in his revenge.

The first, who preferred accusations against this order, were a burgher of Beziers, named Squin de Florian, and Noffo de Florentin, an apostate templar, both of them at that time under confinement for crimes they had committed. These men demanded to be carried before the king, to whom they had some affairs of the utmost importance to discover, and which they would reveal to no other person. Had these men not heard of the king's indignation against the templars, they could hardly have expected to gain a pardon by accusing them. They had a hearing; and, in consequence of the deposition they made before the king, he directed all the bailiffs, and other officers of justice in the kingdom, to call in aid and assistance; and sent them an order sealed, with prohibition, upon pain of death, to open it before the 13th of October.

1309 The day being come, each of them opened his order, and found it was to imprison all the knights templars; accordingly they were all arrested, and the king immediately caused all their estates to be seized upon in his name, till they could be properly disposed of.

It appears very plain to me, that their ruin was resolved upon long before this affair broke out. Their accusation and imprisonment happened in 1309; but letters had been found from Philip the Fair to the count of Flanders, dated from Melun in 1306, in which he requests that prince to join with him in extirpating the templars.

It

It now remained to try this vast multitude of criminals. Pope Clement V. who was Philip's creature, and resided at that time at Poitiers, joined with him, after having settled some disputes between them, concerning the right, which the church had of judging religious orders, and the king's right of judging his subjects. The pope himself examined seventy-two knights, and the rest were prosecuted by inquisitors and commissioners appointed for that purpose. Bulls were dispatched to all the potentates of Europe, to excite them to imitate the example of France. The courts of Castile, Arragon, Sicily and England, complied with them, so far as to banish all of the order; but these unfortunate people were put to death no where but in France. They were accused, by two hundred and one witnesses, of denying Jesus Christ at their admittance into the order, of spitting on the cross, and of worshipping a golden head erected on a block with four feet. The novice kissed the knight, who had made his vow, and was received by him with a kiss at his mouth, his navel, and a certain part, which seems to be seldom destined for such a purpose: he then swore to give himself up in all things to the brotherhood. We learn from the informations relating to this affair, preserved down to our time, that these several articles were acknowledged by seventy-two templars to the pope himself, and by one hundred and forty-one to brother William, a Franciscan friar and inquisitor at Paris, before witnesses. It is further added, that the grand-master of the order himself, the grand master of Cyprus, the masters of France, Poitou, Vienne, and Normandy, made the same confession to three cardinals, who were sent by the pope to examine them.

Certain it is, that above one hundred knights were put to the most cruel torture; that fifty more were burnt in one day, near the abbey of St. Anthony of Paris; and that the grand-master, Jean de Molay, and Guy, brother to the dauphin of Auvergne, two of the principal lords in Europe, the one by his dignity, and the other by his birth, were also thrown alive into the

flames, on the very spot where now stands the equestrian statue of king Henry IV.

The tortures, with which so many citizens, otherwise respectable, were put to death, the cloud of witnesses which appeared against them, and the numerous confessions of the accused themselves, seem strong proofs of their crime, and the justice of their punishment.

But, at the same time, how many things may be offered in their favour; in the first place, of all the witnesses, who deposed against these Templars, the greater part have only given in idle and vague accusations.

Secondly, very few of the evidences swear to their denying Christ; and indeed, what were they to gain by reviling a religion, which was their support, and for which they fought?

Thirdly, allowing that several of them, who had been witnesses to, and even sharers in, the debauches of the princes and clergy of those times, might have expressed a contempt for the abuses of a religion, which had been so shamefully dishonoured both in Asia and Europe, and that in their freer moments they might have expressed themselves, much after the same manner as Boniface VIII. did when speaking of it; yet, after all, this is but the folly of young people, and by no means chargeable upon the order.

Fourthly, the golden head, which it was pretended they worshipped, and which they were said to keep at Marseilles, ought certainly to have been produced to them; on the contrary, there was not the least search made after it, and we must acknowledge, that this part of the accusation overthrows itself.

Fifthly, the infamous manner of their admittance into the society, with which they are reproached, could never have been passed into a law. It shews a very indifferent knowledge of mankind, to suppose, that there can be any societies, that support themselves by the badness of their morals, or who make a law of impudence and obscenity. Every society endeavours to render itself respectable to those, who are desirous of becoming members of it; not that I in the least doubt,

doubt, that several of the young knights might have given themselves up to these excesses, which have prevailed in all times among youth; but these are vices which it is always better to be ignorant of, than to punish.

Sixthly, if there were a great many evidences against the templars, there were likewise a great number of witnesses of other countries in their favour.

Seventhly, if the parties accused, overcome by the severity of the tortures they underwent, did confess such a multitude of crimes, their confession perhaps will be found to reflect as much infamy upon their judges as upon themselves; these having flattered them with hopes of pardon, to extort a confession from them.

Eighthly, the fifty-nine, who were burnt alive, took God to witness for their innocence, and refused to accept of life when it was offered them, on condition of acknowledging themselves guilty.

Ninthly, seventy-four templars, who were not accused, engaged to defend the cause of the order, but they were not permitted to be heard.

Tenthly, when they read to the grand-master the confession, which he had made before the three cardinals, and which had been taken down in writing, that old warrior, who could neither write nor read, cried out, that he was betrayed; that they had written down a different deposition to that, which he had given; and that the cardinals, who were concerned in this piece of treachery, deserved to be punished, as the Turks punished those guilty of forgery, by cleaving them asunder from head to foot.

In the eleventh and last place, the grand-master, and Guy, brother to the dauphin of Auvergne, were offered their lives, if they would make a public acknowledgment of the crimes laid to their charge; and they burnt them at last, only because that, when called upon on the scaffold, in the presence of the people, to acknowledge the justice of the accusation against the order, they solemnly swore, that the order was innocent of what was alledged against it. This declaration incensed the king, and drew upon them their punishment; and they died crying

ing out in vain for the vengeance of heaven to fall upon their persecutors.

In the mean time, in consequence of the pope's bull, and the great riches of the order, the templars were persecuted over all Europe; only in Germany they found means to secure their persons against the fury of their persecutors. In Arragon they sustained sieges in several of their castles; at length, the pope abo-

1312 lished the order by his own authority, in a private consistory held at Vienne, and those might share the spoils, who were able. The kings of Castile and Arragon seized upon part of their possessions, and gave a part to the knights of Calatrava. The lands, belonging to the order in France, Italy, England, and Germany, were given to the knights hospitallers, then called the knights of Rhodes, on account of their having lately taken that island from the Turks, and which they afterwards defended with a courage, that deserved to be rewarded at least with the spoils of the templars.

Denis, king of Portugal, instituted in their room the order of the knights of Christ, which was at first intended to fight against the Moors; but which, coming afterwards to be a badge of honour, has now ceased even to be an honour, by being indiscriminately lavished.

Philip the Fair took two hundred thousand livres on his own account, and his son, Lewis Hutin, sixty thousand more, out of the estates of the knights templars. That faithful and exact historian, Dupuis, says, that the pope did not forget himself in this partition.

We must now consider another memorable event, which happened about the same time, and does more honour to human nature, as it gave rise to an invincible republic.

C H A P. LV.

Of SWISSERLAND, and the Revolution in that Country, at the beginning of the fourteenth Century.

OF all the countries in Europe, Swisserland was that which preserved most the simplicity and poverty of the earlier ages. If Swisserland was not a free country, it would not deserve our attention, nor indeed a place in the history of the world, but would lie undistinguished and confounded with the many more rich and fruitful provinces, which have followed the fate of those kingdoms, in which they are included. Those only engage attention, who are something of themselves. A gloomy climate, a rocky and barren soil, rude mountains, and frightful precipices, are all that nature has done for three parts of this country: and yet the sovereignty of these rocks was disputed with as much fury and obstinacy, as the possession of the kingdom of Naples, or of Asia Minor, for which the lives of so many thousands were sacrificed.

During the eighteen years of anarchy, in which Germany was without an emperor, there were warm disputes between several lords of castles and prelates, about who should have a small portion of Swisserland. The small towns aimed at being free, in the same manner as the cities of Italy, under the protection of the emperor.

When Rodolph was elected emperor, several lords of castles formally accused the cantons of Ury, Schweitz, and Underwald, of having withdrawn themselves from their feudal subjection. Rodolph, who had formerly fought against these petty tyrants, decided in favour of the citizens.

Albert of Austria, his son, upon his accession to the empire, wanted to erect Swisserland into a principality for one of his children. A part of this country was his
own

own demefne, as Lucern, Zurich, and Glaris; tyrannical governors were sent amongst these people, who abused their power.

The founders of the Helvetian liberty were Meletald, Stauffacher, and Waltherfurst. The difficulty of pronouncing these truly respectable names has been a great hindrance to their fame with posterity. These three peasants were the first conspirators; and each of them drew in three others. These nine * gained

1315 over the cantons of Schweitz, Ury, and Underwald.

It is related by all the historians of these times, that while this conspiracy was in agitation, a governor of Ury, called Grisler, devised a most ridiculous and detestable act of tyranny: he caused, they say, his hat to be fixed upon a pole in the market-place, and all who passed by were commanded, upon pain of death, to pay their respects to it. One of the conspirators, whose name was William Tell, refused to pay this honour to the hat; upon which the governor ordered him to be hanged, but granted him his pardon, on condition that, as he was reckoned an excellent marksman, he should, with his arrow, strike an apple from his son's head. The father trembling let fly his arrow, and had the good fortune to strike off the apple without hurting his son. Grisler, perceiving a second arrow under Tell's coat, enquired of him what he intended to do with it; "It was designed for thee," replied the Swiss in a rage, "if I had killed my son." It must be confessed that this story of the apple wants a little confirmation. It seems as if it was thought necessary to ornament the birth of the Helvetic liberty with a fabulous narrative. It is however agreed on all hands, that Tell, having been laid in irons for this speech, killed the governor afterwards with an arrow; which was the signal for the conspirators to rise;

* If each of the three first conspirators brought three other men into the plot, surely the whole number would amount to twelve; and this was really the case. Our author is also mistaken in his chronology, who places this transaction in 1315, whereas it really happened in 1308.

rise ; who being joined by the people, they demolished all the fortresses.

The emperor, Albert of Austria, intending to punish these people, who had made so glorious a struggle for liberty, was prevented from carrying his design into execution by death. Leopold, duke of Austria, the same who violated the laws of hospitality, in the person of Richard *Cœur de Lion*, marched against them with an army of 20,000 men ; and the people of Swisserland behaved, on this occasion, like the Lacedemonians at the streights of Thermopylæ. A small body of four or five hundred men waited for the main 1316 part of the Austrian army at the pass of Morgate : but they were more fortunate than the Lacedemonians ; for they put their enemies to flight, by rolling great stones down upon them. The other detachments of the army were beaten at the same time by as small a number.

These victories being gained in the canton of Schweitz, the other two cantons gave this name to their confederacy, which, now become more general, still reminds them, by the very name, of the victory to which they are indebted for their liberty.

The other cantons by degrees joined in the alliance. Berne, which is in Swisserland the same as Amsterdam is in the republic of Holland, did not join the league till 1352 ; and it was not till the year 1513, that the petty country of Apenzel joined the other cantons ; which completed the number thirteen.

Never did any nation fight longer and harder for their liberty than the Swiss : they have purchased it by above sixty battles against the Austrians ; and it is probable they will preserve it for a long time. Every country that is not of a great extent, abounds not in wealth, and is governed by mild laws, ought to be free. The change of government in Swisserland seems to have wrought a change in the face of the country. The rude soil, which lay neglected under cruel and tyrannical masters, now appears cultivated. The craggy rocks are covered with vines ; and the wild heath, tilled by the hands of freedom, is become a fruitful plain.

Equality,

Equality, the natural inheritance of mankind, still subsists as much as possible in Swisserland. In short, this country might have deserved the name of happy, had not religion afterwards divided those citizens, whom the public good at first united; and if, while they sold their services to princes, richer than themselves, they had taken care always to preserve that incorruptibility for which their nation is distinguished.

There has been in all nations a time, when the minds of the people seem to have been carried away beyond their natural character. Such times have been less frequent in Swisserland than elsewhere. Simplicity, frugality, and moderation, the preservers of liberty, have always been the portion of these people. They have never maintained armies to defend their own frontiers, or to make encroachments on their neighbours. They have no citadels, which may be turned either against the citizens or the enemy; nor do they groan beneath the burden of taxes. They have neither the calls of luxury, nor the troops of a master to provide for. Their mountains are their only ramparts; and every member of the community is a soldier ready armed for the defence of the country.

CHAP. LVI.

Sequel of the STATE of the EMPIRE, ITALY, and the PONTIFICATE, in the fourteenth Century.

WE are now entered upon the fourteenth century, and may have observed, that for the space of six hundred years, Rome, though weak and miserable, was always the principal object of Europe. She governed by religion, even while plunged in meanness, and rent in pieces by anarchy: and, notwithstanding all her humiliations and troubles, the emperors were never able to

to establish the throne of the Cæsars in Rome, nor could the pontiffs render themselves absolute. From the time of Frederic II. we find four emperors successively who seem to have entirely forgotten Italy; namely, Conrad IV. Rodolph I. Adolphus of Nassau, and Albert of Austria. Accordingly, at that time all the cities of Italy recovered their natural rights, and set up the standard of liberty. Genoa and Pisa emulated the example of the Venetians; Florence became an illustrious republic; and Bologna refused to acknowledge any longer either emperors or popes. The municipal form of government prevailed every where, and more particularly in Rome. Clement V. who was called The Gascoon Pope, chose rather to abandon Italy, and transfer the holy see to France, where he might enjoy the sweets of those liberal contributions, furnished at that time by all the faithful, than to dispute in vain the possession of a few towns and castles in the neighbourhood of Rome. Accordingly, this pope fixed the 1312 court of Rome on the frontiers of France; and these times are still called, by the people of Rome, the times of the captivity of Babylon. This good pontiff made a circuit to Lyons, Vienne, and Avignon, carrying about with him publicly the countess of Perigord, his mistress; and collecting as much money as he could possibly raise from the pious donations of the faithful*.

How comes it that the Italians did not, during this conjuncture, while both the emperors and the popes were at such a distance from them, act as the Germans had done, who, under the very eyes of their emperors, had from century to century established their independence,

* This was the honest pontiff, who introduced the custom of annates. Certain English bishops having begged his permission to enjoy one year's revenue of the benefices that should fall vacant in their respective dioceses, Clement remembered the old maxim, "Charity begins at home;" and, instead of granting their request, appropriated to himself one year's revenue for every benefice, that should fall vacant in that kingdom, within the space of two years.

dence, and raised themselves to an equality with the supreme power? There was no longer an emperor, nor a pope in Italy; what was it then that forged new chains for that delightful country? Discord and division. The Guelph and Gibeline factions*, which arose from the quarrels between the pontificate and the empire, still subsisted like a latent flame, which was receiving continual increase from new disorders. Discord reigned every where. Italy did not form a body; Germany always did. In short, the first enterprizing emperor, who should think proper to repass the Alps, had it in his power to renew the rights and claims of the Charlemagnes and others. This at length happened under Henry VII. of the house of Luxembourg, who, in 1311, made a descent into Italy with an army of Germans, in order to get himself acknowledged. The Guelph party looked upon this journey as a new irruption of Barbarians; but the Gibelins favoured him. In his way he reduced the cities of Lombardy, which was a new conquest; and, at length, marched to Rome to receive the imperial crown.

Rome, who desired neither emperor nor pope, yet was unable to shake off the yoke of either, shut her gates against him in vain. Nor could the
 1313 Ursini, and the brother of Robert king of Naples, hinder the emperor, assisted by the Colonnas, from entering the city sword in hand. They fought a long time in the streets, and a bishop of Liege was killed by the emperor's side. Much blood was shed

* The most probable derivation of these terms is this: During the schism of the church, in the twelfth century, while the emperor Conrad III. declared for Innocent II. and the cause of the anti-pope Anacletus was espoused by Guelphe, duke of Bavaria; the Imperialists in the field, from respect to the emperor's grandson Henry, who often commanded them in person, gave the word *Gibelin*, the name of a town in Germany, where this young prince was educated, and of which he was remarkably fond. On the other hand, the Bavarians used the duke's name *Guelph*; and the Italians, without knowing the meaning of these barbarous terms, adopted them in the signification of enemies and friends to the church. Thus the imperial faction was called Gibelin, and the Popish party acquired the name of Guelphs.

shed on account of this ceremony of the coronation, which was at length performed by the cardinals instead of the pope. We must not forget that the emperor protested before a notary, that the oath taken by him at his consecration was not an oath of allegiance.

Henry, now master of Rome, appointed a governor of that city; and ordered that all the cities and princes of Italy should pay him an annual tribute. In this order he comprised the kingdom of Naples, then separated from that of Sicily, and summoned its king to appear before him.

The pope was lord-paramount of the kingdom of Naples; and the emperor called himself lord-paramount of the pope. A strange kind of right on both sides!

The emperor was going to make good his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples by arms, 1314 when he died, as some say, by poison given him by a Dominican friar, in the consecrated wine of the sacrament.

At that time the emperors communicated in both species, in quality of canons of the church of St. John Lateran. They had a right to officiate as deacons at the pope's mass, and then the kings of France were to act as sub-deacons.

We have no authentic proofs, that Henry VII. was really poisoned in this sacrilegious manner. Friar Bernard Politianus of Montepulciano was the person accused of it; and thirty years afterwards the Dominican order obtained letters from John, king of Bohemia, son to this Henry VII. in which he declares them innocent. After all, it was very unfortunate that they stood in need of such letters.

As in the elections of popes, at that time, there was very little order observed; so were those of the emperors very irregular. Mankind had not yet found out prudent laws to prevent schisms.

Lewis of Bavaria, and Frederic the Handsome, duke of Austria, were elected at the same time in the midst of the most fatal disorders: and the sword alone could decide

1322 cide a point which ought to have been determined by a regular diet of electors. At length a battle, in which the Austrian was defeated and taken prisoner, placed the crown on the head of the Bavarian.

The reigning pope at that time was John XXII. who had been elected at Lyons in 1315. Lyons looked upon itself then as a free city; but its bishop always wanted to be its master, and the kings of France had not yet been able to reduce the bishop to subjection. Philip the Long, before he was well settled upon the throne of France, called an assembly of cardinals in this free city; and after having given them his oath that he would use no violence towards them, he caused them all to be shut up, and would not set them at liberty till they had nominated John XXII.

This pope is another strong example of what great things may be done, in the church, by merit alone; for he doubtless must have had no small share of it, who, from a cobbler, rose to be the head of the Christian world.

He was one of those pontiffs, who surpass others in haughtiness, in proportion to the meanness of their birth. It has been already observed, that the papal court subsisted only on the contributions of the faithful *, a fund more considerable than even the lands of the countess Matilda. When I speak of the merits of John XXII. I do not include in the number that of disinterestedness; for this pontiff was more rigorous than any of his predecessors in exacting the dues of the church; not only from the English, who had been very remiss in the payment of the St. Peter's penny, but likewise from the Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, and the Poles, who owed tributes to the holy see: and he made his demands so frequently, and in such peremptory terms, that he generally succeeded in drawing money from them. But he could hardly be called a pope who resided at Lyons, and had little or no interest in Italy.

While

* See page 113.

While he held his court at Lyons, and that Lewis of Bavaria was establishing himself in Germany, Italy was lost to them both. The Viscontis began to establish themselves at Milan. The emperor Lewis, who could not humble them, pretended to protect them, and granted them the title of his lieutenants. These Viscontis, who were of the Gibeline party, having seized on part of the lands of the countess of Matilda, which had been a perpetual subject of discord, John XXII. caused them to be declared heretics by the inquisition. As he resided in France he could run no risk in issuing one of those bulls, by which the popes bestow and take away empires. He deposed the emperor Lewis of Bavaria in his own imagination, depriving him, to use his own words, "Of all his goods moveable and immoveable."

The emperor, thus deposed, marched with all expedition into Italy, where his deposer 1327 did not dare to face him, and arrived at Rome, which was still only the temporary residence of the emperors, accompanied by Castracani *, tyrant of Lucca, Machiavel's hero.

Ludovico Monaldesco, a native of Orvietto, who at the age of one hundred and fifteen, wrote the memoirs of his own time, says, that he perfectly well remembers the entry of the emperor Lewis of 1328 Bavaria; and tells us that the populace chaunted before him, "Blessed be God, and the emperor, who have delivered us from war, famine, and the pope." This passage is no further deserving of our notice, than as it comes from a man, who wrote at the age of an hundred and fifteen.

Lewis called a general assembly at Rome, resembling the ancient parliaments held by Charlemagne, and his sons. This assembly, or parliament, was held in the very piazza of St. Peter, at which a croud of German and

* Castruccio Castracani, the history of whose life is written by Machiavel, was a native of Lucca, and a famous Gibeline commander: for his services against pope John XXII. and Robert king of Naples, he was invested with the dukedom of Lucca, by the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, and died in that dignity at the age of forty-seven.

and Italian princes, deputies of cities, bishops, abbots and monks assisted. The emperor was seated on a throne, raised above the steps of the church, with the crown on his head, and the golden sceptre in his hand. Here he ordered the following proclamation to be made three times by an Augustine Friar: "Is there any person who will defend the cause of the priest of Cahors, who calls himself Pope John?" No one appearing Lewis pronounced sentence, by which he deprived the pope of all his benefices, and delivered

1328 him over to the secular arm to be burnt as an heretic. The condemning to death in this manner a sovereign pontiff was the utmost extreme, to which the quarrels between the empire and the pontificate could be carried.

Some few days afterwards the emperor, with the same ceremony, created a new pope, who was a Neapolitan cordelier; he invested him with the ring, put the cope upon him himself, and made him sit down by his side under the canopy; but he took care not to conform to the custom of kissing the pontiff's feet.

Among all the religious orders, of each of which I shall speak separately, the Franciscans or Cordeliers at that time made the greatest noise. Some amongst them pretended, that religious perfection consisted in wearing a sharp-pointed cowl, and a very close habit. To this reform of dress, they added further the opinion of general property in eating and drinking. The pope had condemned these propositions, and this occasioned a revolt on the side of the reformers. At length the

1329 dispute between them growing warm, the inquisitors of Marseilles caused four of these unhappy monks to be burnt.

The Franciscan, who had been nominated pope by the emperor, was one of their sect; and this was sufficient for John XXII. to be declared an heretic. This pope seems destined to be accused of heresy: for not long after that, having said in a sermon, that the saints would not enjoy the beatific vision till the final judgment; and that, in the mean time, they had an imperfect vision: this affair of the two visions caused a schism in the churches,

churches, and John at length thought proper to retract his opinion.

But all this mighty parade of Lewis of Bavaria, at Rome, produced no other consequence than the efforts of the other German Cæsars. Like them he was recalled by troubles in Germany, and Italy slipped through his hands.

Lewis was far from being a powerful prince; and therefore, after his return to Germany, could not hinder his pope from being taken prisoner by John's party, and carried to Avignon, where he was confined. In short, such was the difference between an emperor and a pope in those days, that Lewis of Bavaria, though a prudent prince, died very poor in his own country; while the pope, who lived at a distance from Rome, and drew very little assistance from Italy, left, when he died at Avignon, treasure to the amount of 1344 twenty-five millions of gold florins, if we will give credit to Villani, a cotemporary writer: but Villani certainly exaggerates; and if we reduce this sum to one third, it will still be very great, and such as the papacy never was worth to any other person; but never did any other pope sell such a number of benefices, nor at so high a price.

He kept the reversion of all the prebendaries, of most of the bishoprics, and the revenues of all vacant benefices in his own hands. By this means he acquired a leading interest in most elections, and the disposal of all benefices. Besides this, he seldom made one bishop without removing seven or eight. One promotion constantly occasioned several others, all which brought in money. The taxes for dispensations and mortal sins were first invented and carried into law in his pontificate. The book of these taxes, of which there were several impressions in the sixteenth century, brought these desperate abuses to light, which were always condemned by the church, and which she found the greatest difficulty to abolish.

The popes his successors continued at Avignon till the year 1371. This city did not belong to them, but to the counts of Provence; but the popes had insensibly made

made themselves usufructuary masters of it, while the counts of Provence were disputing with the kings of Naples for the possession of that kingdom.

The unfortunate queen Joan, of whom we shall speak in the ensuing chapter, thought herself happy, in 1348, to cede the town of Avignon to pope Clement VI. for eighty thousand florins in gold, which he never paid. The papal court, which resided there in full tranquillity, spread riches and plenty throughout Provence and Dauphiny, and forgot the stormy mansions of Rome.

I meet with few times since Charlemagne, in which the Romans did not recal their antient notions of grandeur and liberty. Sometimes, as we have seen, they chose a number of senators, sometimes a single one only, or else a patrician, or a governor, or a council, and sometimes a tribune: and, now when they found that the pope had purchased Avignon, they entertained thoughts of restoring the antient republic. In this view they bestowed the office of tribune on a private citizen, called Nicholas Rienzi, and commonly Cola, a man who, born a fanatic, was become ambitious, and consequently capable of great things, which he undertook, and amused the Roman people with the most flattering hopes. It is of this person that Petrarch speaks in one of the finest odes or canzoni, where he describes Rome with dishevelled hair and streaming eyes imploring the assistance of Rienzi.

*Con gli occhi di dolor bagnati e molli
Ti chier' mercè da tutti sette i colli.*

“ She supplicates thy aid with streaming eyes,
“ And all her sev'n hills echo with her cries.

This tribune assumed the title of the *severe and merciful deliverer of Rome, the stickler for the liberties of Italy, and the lover of all mankind*. He declared all the inhabitants of Italy free, and denizens of Rome. But those convulsive struggles of a long expiring liberty, proved as inefficacious as the pretensions of the emperors on Rome. This tribunate had still a shorter duration than even

even the senate and consulate which had been set up before in vain. Rienzi, who set out like the Gracchi, met with the same end, being assassinated by the patrician faction.

Rome necessarily fell to decay by being deprived of the residence of the papal court, by the troubles of Italy, the barrenness of her own territories, and the removal of her manufactures to Genoa, Pisa, Venice, and Florence. Her only support now depended on the numerous pilgrimages made to her holy places.

The grand jubilee in particular, which was first instituted by Boniface VIII. at the beginning of every century, but afterwards changed by Clement VI. to every fiftieth year, brought a prodigious concourse of people to Rome, insomuch that, in the year 1350 they reckoned above two hundred thousand pilgrims in that city. Thus Rome, destitute of both emperor and pope, continued the weakest and principal city in the Christian world.

C H A P. LVII.

OF JOAN, queen of NAPLES.

WE have already observed that the holy see had made the purchase of Avignon from Joan of Anjou and Provence, queen of Naples. It is seldom found that princes dispose of their dominions, unless they are under great difficulties. The misfortune and death of this queen make part of the events of these times, and especially of the great schism in the West, which we shall soon have occasion to treat of.

The kingdoms of Naples and Sicily still continued to be ruled by foreigners. Naples was governed by the house of France, and Sicily by that of Arragon. Robert, who died in 1343, had made Naples a flourishing kingdom. His nephew, Lewis of Anjou, had been elected king of Hungary. The house of France extended its branches on all sides: but these branches

were not united either to the common stock, or with each other, and were all of them unfortunate. Robert, king of Naples, had before his decease married his grand-daughter and heiress, Joan, to Andrew, brother to the king of Hungary. This match, which seemed to cement the happiness of that house, proved the source of all its misfortunes. Andrew pretended to reign in his own right; and Joan, young as she was, insisted that he should be considered only as the queen's husband. A Franciscan friar, called brother Robert, by whose advice Andrew was wholly governed, lighted up the flames of hatred and discord between this royal pair. Joan had her court composed of Neapolitans; while that of Andrew consisted wholly of Hungarians, who were looked upon as Barbarians by the natives of the country. This proved a fresh subject of animosity; and it was soon determined in a council of the queen's favourites, principally composed of Lewis prince of Tarentum, of the royal blood, who afterwards married the queen, some other princes of the blood, and the famous Catanesè*, so remarkable for her attachment to Joan, to put Andrew to death. He was accordingly strangled in the city of Averfa, in his wife's anti-chamber, and in a manner before her eyes; after which his body was thrown out of the window into the street, where it remained without burial for three days. In a year after this, the queen was married to the prince of Tarentum, who was publicly accused of the murder of her husband. How strong a presumption of her own guilt! but those who take upon them to justify her, alledge that she was married to four different husbands: and that a queen, who could so often submit to the marriage yoke, cannot with justice be accused of crimes that are committed only through
 excess

* Philippa of Catanea, originally a laundress, insinuated herself into the favour of Joan of Naples, and became her confidante and counsellor. She is said to have fomented this queen's aversion to her husband, Andrew, king of Hungary, and was concerned in strangling him at Averfa, before he had attained the nineteenth year of his age. She was afterwards convicted of this horrible crime, and put to death by the most excruciating tortures.

excess of love. But does love then alone inspire such horrid actions? Joan consented to the death of her first husband through weakness; and it was owing to a more pardonable kind of weakness, and more common to her sex, that she had three husbands afterwards: she was incapable of managing the reins of government alone.

Lewis of Hungary, brother to the murdered Andrew, wrote to Joan, that he would revenge the death of his brother on her and her accomplices. Accordingly he set out for Naples, by the way of Venice and Rome. At Rome he accused Joan publicly before the tribune Cola Rienzi, who, during the existence of his ridiculous and transitory power, beheld several kings appealing to his tribunal, as they did in the time of the old republic. Rienzi however declined giving his decision, by which alone he gave an example of his prudence.

In the mean time Lewis advanced towards Naples, carrying with him a black standard, on which was painted the king's murder. He ordered Charles of Durazzo, a prince of the blood, and one of the accomplices in the murder, to be beheaded, and pursued queen Joan, who with her new consort fled before him into her territories of Provence. One very extraordinary circumstance in this affair is, that ambition had no part in the revenge taken for Andrew's murder. Lewis might have made himself master of the kingdom of Naples, but he did not do it. Examples of this kind are rarely to be met with. He was a prince of the most rigid virtue, on which account he was afterwards chosen king of Poland. We shall speak more particularly of him when we come to treat of the kingdom of Hungary. 1347

Joan, who before she had attained the age of twenty, had plunged herself in guilt, and suffered the punishment due to a crime that drew as many miseries upon her subjects as upon herself, abandoned at once by the people of Naples and Provence, went to seek pope Clement VI. in Avignon, a city of which she was sovereign, and which she sold to that pontiff, together

with its territories, for eighty thousand florins
 1348 in gold, which she never received. While
 she was negotiating this affair, she appeared
 before the consistory, where she pleaded her cause in
 person, and was by the general voice declared innocent.
 Clement VI. in order to engage the king of Hungary
 to quit Naples, stipulated for Joan, that he should pay
 him three hundred thousand florins; but Lewis re-
 turned for answer, that he was not come thither to sell
 his brother's blood, but to revenge it; which as he had
 partly effected, he should go away satisfied. The
 spirit of knight-errantry, so prevalent in these times,
 had not produced a more striking instance of firmness
 and generosity.

The queen, who had been driven from her kingdom
 by her brother-in-law, and restored by the mediation
 of the pope, lost her second husband, and for some
 years swayed the sceptre alone. She then married a
 prince of Arragon, who died soon after their nuptials:

at length, when she was near forty-six years
 1376 old, she espoused a younger son of the house
 of Brunswick, whose name was Otho. This
 was rather chusing a husband for her pleasure, than a
 prince capable of protecting her. The natural heir to
 her kingdom was Charles Durazzo, her cousin, the
 only remaining descendent of the house of Anjou, in
 Naples. These princes took their name from the city
 of Durazzo, which had been conquered by their fami-
 ly from the Greeks, and afterwards taken from them
 by the Venetians. This Durazzo she had acknow-
 ledged as her heir; and had even gone so far as to
 adopt him. This adoption, and the great schism
 which happened in the West, hastened the unfortunate
 end of this princess.

The bloody consequences of this schism, (of which
 we shall speak more fully hereafter,) began already to
 break out. Brigano, who took the name of Urban VI.
 and the count of Geneva, who assumed the title of
 Clement VII. disputed the triple crown with the ut-
 most fury; and Europe was divided between them.
 Queen Joan sided with Clement, who then resided at
 Avignon;

Avignon; and Durazzo, who thought it too long to wait for the crown till the natural death of his adoptive mother, joined himself to Brigano, or Urban VI.

This pope crowned Durazzo king of Naples, in Rome, on condition that he 1380 should bestow the principality of Capua on his nephew Brigano; he excommunicated and deposed queen Joan: and the more effectually to secure the principality of Capua in his family, he bestowed all the church benefices on the chief Neapolitan families.

His holiness then began his march with Durazzo towards Naples. The church plate was employed in raising an army; while the queen, who could not procure succours either from pope Clement, in whose favour she had declared, nor from the prince she had chosen for her husband, saw herself almost destitute of troops. In this situation she invites to her assistance a brother of Charles V. king of France, who was also of the family of Anjou, whom she adopts in room of the ungrateful Durazzo.

Lewis of Anjou, which was the name of this new heir of the queen of Naples, arrived too late to defend his benefactress, or dispute the kingdom she had conferred on him.

This choice of the queen's alienated the minds of the people more than ever: they were naturally averse to the introduction of new foreigners. The pope and Durazzo now drew near: Otho of Brunswick, in this extremity, hastily assembles a few troops, is defeated and taken prisoner.

Durazzo now made his entry into Naples: six galleys which the queen had sent for from her country of Provence, which came to an anchor under the Castello del Ovo, proved an useless succour. All resistance was now too late, and flight alone appeared practicable: but even in this she failed, and fell into the usurper's hands, who, to give some colour to his barbarity, declared himself the avenger of Andrew's murder. Upon this occasion he consulted Lewis, king of Hungary, who still persisting in his inflexibility, sent him word, that he must by all means make the queen

suffer the same death as she had inflicted on her husband Andrew. Upon which Durazzo ordered her to be stifled between two matresses*. Thus we every where see one crime punished by another.

Posterity, always just, as beholding without prepossession, has commiserated the fate of this princess, as thinking the murder of her first husband to have proceeded rather from her weakness than the badness of her heart; seeing she was barely eighteen years of age when she gave her assent to that cruel deed; and that from that time she never was accused of debauchery, cruelty, or injustice. But her people deserve the most to be pitied, who were the victims of all these troubles. Lewis duke of Anjou, after exhausting the treasures of his brother Charles V. of France, and impoverishing that kingdom by his vain attempts to revenge the death of queen Joan, and to recover the inheritance she had left him, died soon after in Apulia, without having gained either success or glory, and destitute of friends and money.

The kingdom of Naples, which under king Robert had begun to emerge from its state of barbarism, was plunged back again into it by all these misfortunes, which were still more augmented by the schism in the West, which was afterwards extinguished by the emperor Sigismund. Let us now take a view of the form which the empire put on about this time.

CHAP.

* The unfortunate Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, has been often compared to this princess, whom it must be owned she nearly resembled in character, circumstances, and catastrophe. Joan was celebrated by Petrarch and Boccace.

C H A P. LVIII.

Of the Emperor CHARLES IV. and of the Return of
the Holy See from AVIGNON to ROME.

THE empire of Germany (for in the confusion and troubles which distinguished the latter end of Lewis of Bavaria's reign, there was no longer a Roman empire) at length assumed a more settled form of government, under Charles IV. of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, and grandson to Henry VII. who published at Nuremberg the famous constitution known by the name of the Golden Bull, from a golden seal affixed to it, which in vulgar Latin was called Bulla. This may sufficiently explain to us the reason of the pope's edicts being called bulls. The stile of this charter partakes strongly of the spirit of the times. It begins by an apostrophe to Satan, anger, pride, and luxury. It says, that it is necessary the number of the electors should be seven, in order to oppose the seven mortal sins. It speaks of the fall of the angels, of a heavenly paradise, of Pompey, and of Cæsar; and asserts, that the government of Germany is founded on the three theological virtues, as on the Trinity.

This famous law of the empire was made in the presence, and with the consent of all the princes, bishops, abbots, and the deputies of the imperial cities, who then, for the first time, assisted at the assemblies of these Teutonic nations. These privileges of the towns, which are the natural effects of liberty, began first to be revived in Italy, afterwards in England, then in France, and last of all they found admittance into Germany.

Every one knows, that the number of the electors was fixed to seven. The archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Triers, who had long been in possession of the right of electing emperors, would not suffer other

bishops, though equal in power to themselves, to partake with them in this honour. But how happened it that the duchy of Bavaria was not ranked among the electorates? And why should Bohemia, which was originally a distinct state from Germany, and which by the golden bull was excluded from deliberations of the empire, yet continue to have a right of suffrage in the election? The reason is evidently this, Charles IV. was king of Bohemia, and Lewis of Bavaria had been his enemy.

But the imperial dignity, which at that time conferred no real power in itself, never received more of that lustre which dazzles the eyes of the people, than on this occasion. The three ecclesiastical electors, all three arch-chancellors, appeared there with the seals of the empire: Mentz carried those of Germany, Cologne those of Italy, and Triers those of Gaul, and yet the empire had nothing in Gaul, but the empty homage of the remains of the kingdom of Arles, Provence, and Dauphiné, which were soon after swallowed up in the vast kingdom of France. Savoy, which then belonged to the house of Maurienne, was a fief of the empire, and Franche-Comté was under its protection, but independent.

We have already seen what the emperor's possessions in Italy were; in Germany his sovereignty was confined to his hereditary dominions, and yet he speaks in his bull like a despotic king; he does every thing there "Of his certain knowledge, and by the fullness of his power;" terms inconsistent with the Germanic liberty, and which are no longer suffered in the imperial diets, where the emperor expresses himself thus: "We have agreed with the states, and the states with us."

To conceive some idea of the pomp and magnificence with which this ceremony of the golden bull was accompanied, it will be sufficient to be informed that the duke of Luxemburg and Brabant, the emperor's nephew, presented him with his drink; the duke of Saxony, as grand-marshal, appeared with a silver measure filled with oats; the elector of Brandenburg held the water for the emperor and empress to wash; and the

the count Palatine placed the gold dishes on the table, in presence of all the great officers of the empire.

Charles IV. appeared, on this occasion, the king of kings; and Constantine, the vainest of all the Roman emperors, never displayed a more dazzling outside of pomp and splendor. And yet Charles, with all this affectation of the Roman emperor, had engaged himself by oath to pope Clement VI. before his election, that whenever he went to Rome to be crowned, he would not lye a single night in the city; and would never again return to Italy without the holy father's permission. And there is yet to be seen a letter written by him to cardinal Colombierus, dean of the sacred college, dated in the year 1355, in which he calls that dean Your Majesty. 1346

He also left the house of Visconti in the quiet possession of Milan and Lombardy, which they had usurped from him, and the Venetians in that of Padua, which had formerly been the mistress of Venice, but was now become subject to her; as likewise Vicenza and Verona.

The electors, whose rights had been settled by the golden bull of Charles IV. soon put them in force against his own son, the emperor Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia.

France and Germany were afflicted both at the same time with a most extraordinary scourge. The emperor and the French king lost the use of their reason almost at the same time. On the other hand, Charles VI. by the disorder of his organs, occasioned that of his kingdom; and the emperor Wenceslaus so stupified himself in gluttony and debauch, that he left the empire in a state of anarchy. Charles VI. continued on the throne while his relations ruined France under his name. But in Bohemia the barons confined Wenceslaus, who one day made his escape quite naked out of prison; and the electors of Germany, by a public sentence, juridically deposed him. The sentence says only, that he is deposed for being "negligent, idle, extravagant, and unworthy of reigning." 1393 1400

It is said that when he received notice of his deposition, he wrote to the imperial cities of Germany, that he required no other marks of their fidelity, than that they would send him some butts of their best wine.

The deplorable situation of Germany seemed to leave an open field for the popes to stir in Italy; but the republics and principalities which were raised during the late commotions had had time to settle themselves. From the time of Clement V. Rome had been a stranger to popes: at length Gregory XI. who was born in the Limousin, and did not understand one word of Italian, removed the papal see to Rome.

This pope had high disputes with the re-
1376 public of Florence, which was then establishing its power in Italy, and had entered into an alliance with Bologna. Gregory, who was, by the antient donation of Matilda, the immediate lord of this last city, did not confine his revenge to ecclesiastical censures, but drained his treasures to pay the *Candottieri*, who at that time furnished troops to any one who would purchase them. The Florentines were for accommodating matters, and gaining the pope over to their interest. In this view they thought it would be of advantage to them for the pope to reside at Rome: they were, therefore, if possible, to persuade Gregory to quit Avignon.

It is almost inconceivable that in times, when men's understandings were so enlightened in regard to their true interests, they should have made use of means to gain their purpose that would appear so highly ridiculous in the present age. They employed St. Catherine of Sienna in this negotiation; a woman who not only pretended to revelations, but even pretended to have been solemnly espoused to Jesus Christ, and to have received a ring and a diamond from him at their nuptials. Peter of Capua, who was her confessor, and has written her life, pretends to have been eye-witness to most of these miracles. "I was witness, says he, to her being transformed one day into the figure of a man, with a little beard upon his chin; and this figure, into which she was suddenly changed, was exactly that of Jesus Christ." Such was the ambassadress whom the Florentines

tines sent to the pope; and they had likewise recourse to the revelations of St. Bridget *, who was born in Sweden, but had settled in Rome, and to whom an angel dictated several letters which she was to write to the pope. All the popes have not been men of genius; and Gregory, whether he was a simple man, and that they worked upon him by springs proportioned to his intellects; or whether he acted from a principle of policy, or through weakness, he complied with their desires; and the papal residence was transferred from Avignon to Rome, after an absence of seventy-two years; but it was only to plunge Europe into new disorders.

C H A P. LIX.

Of the GREAT SCHISM of the WEST.

THE patrimony of St. Peter in Tuscany, the Campagna di Roma, the country of Viterbo and Orvietto, Sabino, the duchy of Spoleto, Benevento, and a small part of the marche of Ancona, were all that the see of Rome possessed at this time: all the countries afterwards annexed to its demesne belonged to lords who were vicars of the holy see, or of the empire. Since the year 1138, the cardinals had usurped the privilege of excluding the people and clergy from the election of pontiffs; and, about the year 1216, they had made a law, that two thirds of the votes were necessary for a canonical election. At the time I am speaking of, there were only sixteen cardinals in Rome; eleven

* This was no less than the princess of Nericia, not only a saint herself, but the mother of seven children, all of whom were deemed beatified. She founded the religious order called Saint Salvator, or Saviour, the rules of which, comprehended in thirty-one chapters, were, if we may believe Matthew de Suecia, canon of Lincoping, dictated by the mouth of Jesus Christ to his devout spouse St. Bridget. She also wrote a book of revelations which had like to have been condemned by the council of Basil.

eleven French, one Spanish, and four Italians. The Romans, notwithstanding their passion for liberty, and their hatred to their masters, were desirous of having a pope who would reside in Rome, because they hated the French and Germans still more than they did the popes, and because the presence of the pontiff always drew riches to the city. The people, in this mood, threatened to destroy the cardinals, if they gave them a foreigner for pope. These menaces had such an effect

on the cardinal-electors, that they chose Brignano, bishop of Barri, a Neapolitan, who took the name of Urban. This was a morose

and passionate man, consequently very unfit for such a dignity; and no sooner was he installed, than he declared in full consistory, that he would punish the kings of France and England, Charles the Wise, and Edward III. who, he said, were disturbers of all christendom by their quarrels. Cardinal de la Grange, a man of as violent a temper as the pope himself, shaking his fist at him, told him *he lied*. These two words involved Europe in a confusion which lasted forty years.

Most of the cardinals, even the Italians themselves, shocked at the brutal disposition of a person so unfit for governing, withdrew into the kingdom of Naples, where they declared the election of a pope made by violence, to be, *ipso facto*, null and void; and proceeded unanimously to the election of a new pontiff. On this occasion the French cardinals had the uncommon satisfaction of outwitting their Italian brethren. They promised the tiara to each Italian in particular, and after all elected Robert, son to Amadeus count of Geneva, who, at his promotion, took the name of Clement VII.

Upon this Europe became divided. The emperor Charles IV. England, Flanders, and Hungary, acknowledged Urban, who was also obeyed in Rome and Italy. France, Scotland, Savoy, and Lorraine, declared for Clement. All the religious orders were divided: the doctors all wrote, and the universities issued out decrees. The two popes treated each other as Antichrists and usurpers, and proceeded to mutual excommunication.

tion. But what rendered this dispute truly horrible was, that they fought with the complicated fury of a civil and a religious war. A body of troops, which Clement's nephew had raised in Gascony and Brittany, marched into Italy, surprised the city of Rome, and in the first transports of their fury, put every one they met with to the sword. But the people of Rome recovering from their surprize, quickly rallied, and turning upon them, killed every man found within the walls; after which they murdered every French priest they could meet with. Soon after this, another army of pope Clement's, which had been raised in the kingdom of Naples, appeared within a few miles of Rome, and offered battle to Urban's forces.

Each of these armies carried the keys of St. Peter in their ensigns. Clement's troops were defeated; but the quarrel did not end here, this dispute not being confined wholly to the interests of the two pontiffs. Urban seeing himself victorious, was resolved to bestow the kingdom of Naples on his nephew; and for that purpose, deposed queen Joan, the protectress of his rival Clement, who had long reigned in Naples with various success, and a sullied reputation.

The preceding chapter has shewn us this princess murdered by her cousin Charles of Durazzo, with whom pope Urban now wanted to divide the kingdom of Naples. But this usurper, when in quiet possession of the throne, was far from keeping his promise to a pope, who had it not in his power to oblige him to do it.

Urban, who had more warmth than policy, had the imprudence to pay a visit to his vassal, inferior as he was in strength, and attended but with a slender retinue. The antient ceremonial obliged the king to kiss the pope's feet, and hold his horse by the bridle. Durazzo conformed to only one of these ceremonies; he took hold of the bridle, but it was to conduct the pope to prison. Urban was detained for some time in confinement, continually negotiating with his vassal, who treated him sometimes with respect, and at others with contempt. The pope at length found means to escape from his confinement, and retired to the
little

little town of Nocera ; there he assembled the scattered remains of his court. His cardinals and some of the bishops were so tired with his morose temper, and still more with his misfortunes, that they concerted measures at Nocera for quitting him, in order to remove to Rome, and there make choice of a person more worthy of bearing the pontifical dignity. Urban, having had notice of their design, caused them all to be put to the torture in his presence. Being soon obliged to fly from Naples, he retired to the city of Genoa, who sent some galleys to escort him. He dragged along with him those poor cardinals and bishops in that maimed condition, and bound in chains. One of the bishops, half dead with the tortures he had undergone, not being able to get on shore so soon as the pope chose he should, that cruel pontiff ordered him to be murdered by the way. As soon as he arrived at Genoa, he got rid of those cardinals, his prisoners, by different kinds of punishments. We have heard of Caligulas and Neros, who were guilty of crimes like these, but they met with the punishments they deserved, and Urban died peaceably at

1389 Rome. His creature and persecutor, Charles Durazzo, was more unfortunate ; for, having made an expedition into Hungary, with a design to seize a crown that did not belong to him, he was there murdered.

The death of pope Urban ought, in all appearance, to have put an end to the civil war ; but the Romans were far from acknowledging Clement. Thus the schism was kept up on both sides. The Urbanists chose Perin Tomafel, and he dying, they pitched upon cardinal Meliorati. The Clementines chose Peter of Arragon to succeed Clement, who died in 1390. Never had any pope less authority in Rome than Meliorati ; and Peter Luna, in a short time, was only the shadow of a pope at Avignon. The Romans, who still aimed at establishing the municipal form of government, expelled Meliorati, after a great deal of bloodshed, tho' they still acknowledged him as pope ; and the French, who

1403 had acknowledged Peter Luna, besieged him in

in his city of Avignon, where they afterwards detained him prisoner.

The assembly of the states of France formed so prudent a resolution during these times of trouble and confusion, that I am surprized it was not followed by other nations. They acknowledged neither of the popes, but each diocese was governed by its proper bishop; they remitted no annates, and owned no reservations nor exemptions; so that Rome had reason to fear lest that administration, which lasted some years, should have continued for ever.

Luna, previous to his election, had promised to resign his dignity, if necessary for the sake of peace, but did not keep his word. A noble Venetian, named Corario, whom they elected at Rome, took the same oath, and kept it no better. The cardinals on both sides, being at length heartily tired of the general, as well as private quarrels, with which the dispute about the triple crown was attended, agreed to call a general council at Pisa. Accordingly, they met, and twenty-four cardinals, twenty-six archbishops, a hundred and ninety-two bishops, two hundred and eighty-nine abbots, deputies from all the universities, as also of the chapters of one hundred and two metropolitan churches, together with three hundred doctors of divinity, the grand-master of Malta, and the ambassadors of all the Christian princes were present at this assembly. Here they made a new pope, named Peter Philargi, 1409 who took the name of Alexander V. But the fruit of this great council was, that three popes, or rather antipopes, started up instead of two. The emperor Rodolph refused to acknowledge this council; so that the confusion was greater than ever.

We cannot forbear lamenting the hard fate of Rome, who had a bishop and a prince imposed upon her against her will; and a body of French troops now came under the command of Tanegui du Chatel, to compel her to receive a third pope. Corario the Venetian transferred his residence to Gaieta, where he put himself under the protection of Charles Durazzo, whom we call Launcelot, and who then reigned in Naples; and Peter
Luna

Luna removed his see to Perpignan. Rome was sacked, but to little purpose, for the third pope, who died by the way; and from the politics which prevailed at that time, every body believed him poisoned.

The cardinals of the council of Pisa, who had elected him, being masters of Rome, they chose in his place Balthazar Cozza, a Neapolitan. This Balthazar was a military man; he had formerly been a Corsair, and had distinguished himself during the troubles which still continued to subsist between Charles Durazzo and the house of Anjou: afterwards, being made legate in Germany, he grew rich by selling indulgences, and bought a cardinal's hat, for which he paid a high price; nor did he purchase at a cheaper rate the favours of his mistress, Catharine, whom he had taken away from her husband. Perhaps such a pope was the fittest for Rome in her present situation, when she stood more in need of a soldier than a divine.

From the time of Urban V. the rival popes went on negotiating and excommunicating, and all their politics centered in extorting money; but this pontiff went to war. He was acknowledged by France, and the greatest part of Europe, by the name of John XXIII. He had no occasion to fear the pope of Perpignan; but the pope of Gaieta was somewhat more formidable, as being protected by the king of Naples. John, however, collects a body of troops, publishes a crusade against Launcelot (or Charles Durazzo) king of Naples, furnishes Lewis of Anjou with arms, and bestows on him the investiture of Naples; and a battle is soon after fought on the banks of the Gariliano, in which John's party proved victorious: but gratitude making no part of the virtues of a sovereign, and reasons of state being stronger than any other considerations, the pope recalled the investiture he had bestowed on Lewis of Anjou, though his benefactor, and the revenger of his cause, and acknowledged Launcelot as king, on condition he should deliver up the Venetian Corario.

Launcelot, on his side, not willing to suffer John to grow too powerful, let pope Corario escape; and that pontiff, after wandering about some time, retired to the castle

castle of Rimini, which belonged to Malatesta, one of the petty tyrants of Italy. From hence, though subsisting wholly on the benevolence of this nobleman, and acknowledged only by the duke of Bavaria, he excommunicated all the princes of Europe, and talked in the stile of sovereign of the world.

John XXIII. the only lawful pope, as having been elected and acknowledged by the cardinals of the council of Pisa, and succeeded to the pope chosen by the same council, was the only pope in fact: but as he had betrayed his benefactor, Lewis of Anjou, so Launcelot, whose benefactor he had been, betrayed him in like manner; and, upon finding himself successful, aimed at the sovereignty of Rome. Accordingly he surprized this unhappy city, and John had hardly time to make his escape. It was fortunate for him then, that there were free cities in Italy. To throw himself, like Corario, into the arms of one of the petty tyrants, would have been making himself a slave; he therefore put himself under the protection of the people of Florence, who fought at the same time against Launcelot for their liberties and for the pope.

Launcelot's army, however, was on the point of prevailing, and the pope saw himself shut up in Bologna. In this extremity he had recourse to the emperor Sigismund, who was come into Italy to conclude a treaty with the Venetians. Sigismund, as emperor, had an opportunity of exalting his own power by the humiliation of the pope, but, on the other hand, he was the natural enemy of Launcelot, the tyrant of Italy. John proposes to him, to form a league and assemble a council, the one to expel the common enemy, and the other to confirm his own right to the pontificate. A council was in fact become necessary, that of Pisa having ordered one to be called at the end of three years. Accordingly, Sigismund and John issued their joint proclamation, for the holding of this council in the little city of Constance. But Launcelot opposed his victorious army to these negotiations, and nothing but an extraordinary turn of affairs could deliver the emperor and the pope
from

from their critical situation: this happened by
 1414 the death of Launcelot, who yielded up his
 breath at the age of forty, in sudden and most
 excruciating pains, and the custom of poisoning was at
 that time but too frequent.

John XXIII. thus delivered from his most implacable
 enemy, and having now only the emperor and the coun-
 cil to fear, wanted to put off the meeting of this high
 assembly, which may not improperly be stiled the senate
 of Europe, and has the power of judging the supreme
 pontiffs; but the meeting was proclaimed, the emperor
 pressed for its sitting, and those who had a right to assist
 at it were hastening from all parts to take possession of the
 august title of arbitrators of Christendom.

C H A P. LX.

The Council of CONSTANCE.

ON the western bank of the lake of Constance
 stands the town of that name, said to have been
 built by Constantine. This place Sigismond pitched
 upon as the theatre where this great scene was to be act-
 ed. Never had there been a more numerous convoca-
 tion than that of Pisa: it was however exceeded by this
 of Constance.

Besides the crowd of prelates and doctors who assisted
 at this council, there were twenty-eight great vassals of
 the empire present, and the emperor himself constantly
 attended, as did the electors of Mentz, Saxony, the Pala-
 tine, and Brandenburg, with the dukes of Austria and
 Bavaria, and twenty-seven ambassadors from the several
 courts of Europe; and every one of these vied with the
 other in luxury and magnificence, as appears by the
 number of goldsmiths, amounting to fifty, who, with
 all their workmen, came to settle in Constance during
 the sitting of the council.

There

There were likewise five hundred players on instruments called in those times minstrels; and seven hundred and eighteen courtezans, who were protected by the magistracy. They were obliged to build a number of wooden huts to lodge all the ministers to luxury and incontinence; which these lords, rather than fathers, of the council brought in their train. No one was ashamed of these practices, as they were now as publicly authorized in every state, as they had formerly been with most of the antient nations. On this occasion the church of France allowed every archbishop it sent to the council ten franks a day (which is equivalent to fifty livres of our present currency), eight to a bishop, five to an abbot, and three to a doctor.

Before I proceed to take a view of what passed in this assembly of the Christian states, I judge it necessary to make a short recapitulation of the principal sovereigns who reigned at that time in Europe, with the state and condition of their respective dominions.

Sigismund joined to the imperial dignity the crown of Hungary. He had been unsuccessful against Bajazet the famous sultan of the Turks; so that Hungary being drained, and Germany divided, 1393 they were both threatened with the Mahometan yoke. He had been still worse used by his own subjects than by the Turks. The Hungarians had imprisoned him, and offered his crown to Launcelot, king of Naples; but having escaped from his confinement, he retrieved his affairs in Hungary, 1410 and was afterwards chosen head of the empire.

In France the unhappy Charles VI. who had been seized with a frenzy, enjoyed only the name of King; and his relations, employed in dismembering the kingdom to serve their own private purposes, were very little attentive to what passed at the council: it was, however, their interest that the emperor should not appear to be the master of Europe.

Ferdinand, who governed the kingdom of Arragon, supported the interests of his pope, Peter Luna.

John II. king of Castile, had no influence on the affairs

fairs of Europe ; but he still espoused Luna's claim, and was master of Navarre.

Henry V. king of England, being taken up, as we shall shew hereafter, with the conquest of France, wished to see the pontifical power so humbled and reduced, that it might never again be able to impose a tribute on England, nor interfere with the rights and privileges of crowned heads.

Rome, who had been delivered from the French troops, but still saw them in possession of the castle of St. Angelo, and was obliged to submit to John XXIII. hated her pope, and feared the emperor.

The cities of Italy were so divided, that they were hardly of any weight in the balance : and Venice, who aspired at the sovereignty of Italy, took advantages of the troubles of that country and of those of the church.

The duke of Bavaria, that he might act some part on this grand theatre, protected pope Corrario, who had taken refuge in the castle of Rimini ; and Frederic, duke of Austria, who was secretly an enemy to the emperor, thought only how to frustrate his designs.

Sigismond made himself master of the council, by placing soldiers round the city of Constance, under the specious pretext of providing for the safety of the fathers.

It would have been much better for John XXIII. to have returned to Rome, where he could have been master, than to have put himself in the power of an emperor who was able to ruin him : he entered into a confederacy with the duke of Austria, the archbishop of Mentz, and the duke of Burgundy, which completely ruined him. The emperor from that instant became his enemy ; and insisted, notwithstanding his being a lawful pope, that he should lay down the tiara

1415 as well as Luna and Corrario. This he solemnly promised to do, and repented his promise the moment after ; for he now found himself a prisoner in the midst of that very council where he sat as president. He had now no resource left but to make his escape ; but the emperor caused him to be narrow-ly

ly watched. The duke of Austria, who was desirous to favour the pope's flight, could not think of any better way to effect it than by giving the council the diversion of a tournament. In the midst of the hurry and confusion usual on these occasions, the pope made his escape in the disguise of a postillion; and the duke of Austria set out immediately after him. They both retired into a part of Swisserland which still belonged to the house of Austria. The duke of Burgundy was likewise ready to protect the pope. This duke was very powerful, both on account of his great possessions, and the authority he had in France. Thus a new schism was on the point of being kindled. The heads of religious orders, who were in the pope's interest, were already retiring from Constance, and the council, by this turn of affairs, might have become an assembly of rebels. Sigismond, who had been unfortunate on so many occasions, proved successful in this. He had, as we have already observed, a body of troops at hand; with these he made himself master of all the duke of Austria's territories in Alsace, Tyrol, and Swisserland. This brought the duke back to the council, where he asked pardon on his knees of the emperor, and promised, in the most solemn manner, never for the future to undertake any thing contrary to his will; and resigned all his dominions to him, to be deposed of as he should think proper, in case of infidelity. The emperor upon this gave the duke his hand, and pardoned him, on condition he would deliver up the person of the pope.

The fugitive pontiff is accordingly seized at Fribourg, and conveyed to a neighbouring castle. In the mean time the council proceeded to his trial.

He was charged with having sold benefices and relics; with poisoning the pope his predecessor; with having murdered a number of innocent persons: in short, he was accused of the most impious licentiousness, and of the highest excess of debauchery, even of sodomy and blasphemy: they, however, suppressed fifty-five articles of the verbal process, which they ^{29th} thought reflected too great an infamy on the ^{May} pontifical character. At length, the sentence ¹⁴¹⁵

of his deposition was read in the presence of the emperor. This sentence imported, that the council reserved to itself the power of punishing the pope for his crimes, according to justice or mercy.

John XXIII. who had formerly given such proofs of courage both by sea and land, was all resignation when they came to read his sentence to him in prison. The emperor kept him prisoner three years at Manheim, where he treated him with such severity, that the public began to compassionate him more for his sufferings, than it had even hated him for his crimes.

The council having thus deposed the true pope, wanted the renunciations of those who pretended to the pontificate; Corrario sent them his, but the proud Spaniard Luna would never yield. The council found no difficulty in deposing him; but it was an affair of greater importance to fix upon the choice of one to succeed him. The cardinals claimed the right of election as immediately vested in themselves; and the council, as representatives of the whole Christian church, pretended likewise to the same right. The present question was about giving a head to the church, and a sovereign to Rome. It was but just that the cardinals, who constituted the privy-council of this sovereign, and the fathers of the general council, who acted in conjunction with them as representatives of the church, should with them enjoy an equal right of suffrage. Thirty

1417 deputies of the council, joined with the cardinals in unanimously electing Otho Colonna of that same family, who had been excommunicated by pope Boniface VIII. to the fifth generation.

This pope, who after his election changed his illustrious name for that of Martin, possessed all the qualities of a prince, with the virtues of a bishop.

Never had the inauguration of a pontiff been attended with greater pomp. He went in procession to the church, mounted on a white palfrey; the emperor and the count palatine on foot, leading it by the reins, a numerous croud of princes, and all the members of the council closed the train. When he arrived in the church, the

the triple crown was put upon his head, which the popes had worn for upwards of two centuries.

The fathers of this council did not originally meet about the deposing a pope; their principal view seemed to be the reformation of the church; at least this was the chief design of Gerson and the deputies of the university of Paris.

There had been great complaints made in this council for above two years against the annates, or first fruits, the exemptions, the reservations, and the taxes imposed by the popes on the clergy, for the profits of the holy see, and against the torrent of vice with which the church was at that time overflowed. But how did this so much desired reformation end? Pope Martin declared, First, that no exemptions ought to be granted, without having just cause. Secondly, that an enquiry should be made into the reunited benefices. Thirdly, that the revenues of vacant churches should be disposed of according to common law. Fourthly, he made an ineffectual prohibition of simony. Fifthly, he ordered, that for the future those who had benefices should be distinguished by the tonsure. Sixthly, he forbade the celebrating of mass in a lay habit. These were the laws promulgated by the most solemn assembly in the universe.

Gerson even found great difficulty in getting the following propositions condemned, viz. that in some cases the assassination of a person may become a virtuous act; that it is more meritorious in a knight than in a squire, and far more in a prince than in a knight. This doctrine of assassination had been maintained in France, by one John Petit, a doctor of the university of Paris, upon the occasion of the murder of the king's own brother. The council for a long time evaded Gerson's petition; at length it was obliged to condemn this doctrine of murder, though without mentioning the cordelier John Petit's name.

Such is the idea which I thought necessary to form to myself of the several political views of the council of Constance; the fires which were afterwards lighted up by a religious zeal, are of a different nature.

C H A P. LXI.

OF JOHN HUS, and of JEROM of
PRAGUE.

THE portrait of general history, which has hitherto been exhibited to our view, evinces the profound state of ignorance in which the western world was plunged. The nations subject to the Roman empire, were, upon the dissolution of that empire, reduced to a state of barbarism; the other nations had always continued so. Reading and writing were sciences very little known before the time of Frederic II. and the famous benefit of the clergy, by which a criminal, condemned to die, obtained his pardon, if he could read, is the most striking proof of the stupidity of the times. From the great ignorance of the people, the clergy and monks had, by the means of a little knowledge, especially in religious matters, acquired that kind of authority over their minds, which a superiority of understanding naturally gives a master over his scholars; and from this authority they derived all their power. There was not a bishop in Germany, or in the North, who was not a petty sovereign; not one in Spain, France, or England, but was possessed of, or disputed with their prince, part of the regal rights. Almost every abbot was become a prince; and the popes, though prosecuted on all sides, were kings over all those sovereigns. At length, through the vices attendant upon luxury, and the disorders which follow ambition, the greatest part of these abbots and bishops were themselves reduced to the same ignorant state with the laity. The universities of Bologna, Paris, and Oxford, which had been founded in the thirteenth century; still continued to cultivate that learning which the clergy, too much occupied with their

their riches, had not thought worth their while to preserve.

The doctors of these universities, who were only doctors, soon exclaimed against the scandalous lives of the rest of the clergy; and the desire of distinguishing themselves, led them to the examination of those mysteries, which for the public good should never have been unveiled.

He who rent this veil with the greatest fury, was John Wickliff, a doctor of the university of Oxford. This man preached and wrote while Urban V. and Clement ravaged the church by their schism, and were publishing crusades against each other. He pretended that what France had done only for a time, in refusing to acknowledge any pope, should be carried into a perpetual law. This opinion was embraced by many of the English lords; who had for a long time beheld with indignation their country treated as a mere province of Rome; but it was as vigorously opposed by all those who had a share in the emoluments arising from this submission.

Wickliff was not so much protected in his theology as in his politics: he revived the old opinions of Berangerius, which had been formerly proscribed, and maintained, that nothing is to be believed, that is in itself contradictory or impossible: that no accident can subsist without a subject: in a word, that the bread and wine, in the eucharist, still continue after consecration to be bread and wine. He was also for abolishing confession, indulgencies, and the church hierarchy. What the Vaudois only taught in secret, he published openly; and his doctrine was nearly the same as that of the Protestants, who appeared a century after him, and of a sect, which had been established a long time before.

His doctrine was condemned by the university of Oxford, and by the bishops and clergy; but this did not hinder its spreading. His books, though obscure and ill written, were everywhere circulated, by the mere dint of curiosity, which the subject of the dispute, and the boldness of the author, had raised in all degrees of people, and which received no little weight from his un-

spotted manners, and purity of life. His works made their way into Bohemia, a country newly risen out of barbarism, and which, from the grossest ignorance, had arrived at another species of it, at that time called erudition.

The emperor Charles IV. the law-giver of Germany and Bohemia, had founded the university at Prague on the same model as that at Paris. In this university, which in the beginning of the fifteenth century contained not less than 20,000 students, the Germans had three voices in all deliberations, and the Bohemians only one. John Hus, a native of Bohemia, who had attained to the degree of bachelor in that academy, and was confessor to queen Sophia of Bavaria, wife to Wenceslaus, obtained of that princess, that for the future his countrymen should have three votes, and the Germans only one. These latter, incensed at this change, withdrew from the university, and became so many irreconcilable enemies to John Hus. At the same time some of Wickliff's works had fallen into his hands; and though he totally rejected the speculative doctrine contained in them, he adopted the author's passionate invectives against the scandalous lives of the popes and the bishops, against the excommunications thundered out with such levity and fury, and, in fine, against all ecclesiastical power, in which neither he nor Wickliff had properly distinguished between the rights and the usurpations. This step made him many more enemies, but at the same time it procured him a number of protectors, especially the queen, whose spiritual director he was. He was accused before John XXIII. and summoned to appear in the year 1411, which summons he did not obey. In the mean time

1414 the council of Constance assembled, which was to pronounce judgment upon the popes, and the opinions of men: hither he was also summoned, the emperor himself writing to the court of Bohemia, to desire he might be sent to give an account of his doctrine.

John Hus, full of confidence, repaired to the council, from whence both he and the pope ought to have kept

kept away. He arrived there, accompanied by several Bohemian gentlemen, and many of his disciples; and what is most remarkable, he came with the emperor's safe-conduct, dated the 18th of October, 1414, and drawn up in the fullest and most favourable terms; but no sooner was he arrived, than he was committed to close confinement, and the council proceeded to try him at the same time with the pope. He like the pope made his escape, and like him was brought back again, and they were both confined for some time in the same prison.

At length he appeared before the council, loaded with chains, and was examined concerning several passages in his writings. It is certain that any man may be ruined by wresting the meaning of his words. What teacher, what writer is sure of his life, if we condemn to the flames a person who says, "That there is but one catholic church, which contains all the predestined in its bosom; that a reprobate is not a member of this church; that the temporal lords ought to oblige the priests to observe the law; and that a wicked pope is not a vicar of Jesus Christ."

And yet these and no other, were the propositions maintained by John Hus, and which he explained in such a manner as might have acquitted him, had not the council put such a sense upon them, as was found necessary to condemn him. If you do not believe the *universale a parte rei*, said one of the fathers to him, you do not believe in the real presence. What a method of arguing was this! and on how precarious a thing did men's lives at that time depend!

Hus had not embraced any of those propositions of Wickliff which now divide the Protestants from the church of Rome *, and yet he was condemned to perish

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by

* Surely this must be a mistake in our author. John Hus adopted the doctrines of Wickliff, who maintained that the bread and wine in the eucharist was not the real substance; and that the church of Rome was not supreme over all churches; two of the most essential articles of the Protestant faith. The Hussites were in particular so tenacious with respect to the cup in the communion,

by the flames. Upon inquiry into the cause of such an execution, I could never find it to be any other than that spirit of obstinacy, which is generally imbibed in the schools. The fathers of the council were determined that Hus should retract his opinion, and Hus, on his side, persuaded that he was in the right, would not acknowledge himself in an error. The emperor, moved with compassion, said to him, "What harm is there in abjuring errors falsely attributed to you? I am ready this moment to abjure all kind of errors; does it follow from thence that I have held them?" Hus, however, remained inflexible. He demonstrated the difference between a general abjuration of errors, and retracting an opinion as an error, and chose rather to be burnt than acknowledge that he had been in the wrong.

The council were as obstinate as himself; but his obstinacy in rushing to certain death was something heroic; whereas that of condemning him to the flames was an act of great cruelty. The emperor, notwithstanding the faith of the safe-conduct he had granted him, ordered the elector palatine to see him carried to execution; and he was accordingly burnt alive, in the presence of the elector, chaunting out hymns of praise to the divinity, till the flames stifled his voice.

Some months afterwards, the council exercised the same severity against a disciple and friend of John Hus, named Jerom, whom we commonly call Jerom of Prague. This man was greatly superior in understanding and eloquence to Hus. He at first had subscribed to the condemnation of his master's doctrine; but being informed with what greatness of soul Hus had encountered death, he was ashamed to survive him, and having made a public retraction, he was consigned to the flames.

Poggio

nion, that cups were painted in their churches, houses, and even on their colours; so as to give rise to the following distich:

*Tot pingis calices Bœimorum terra per urbes,
Ut credas Bacchi sumina sola coli.*

Poggio the Florentine, secretary to John XXIII. and one of the first restorers of letters, who was present at his examinations and execution, says, that he never heard any thing that approached so nearly to the eloquence of the Greeks and Romans, as the speech which Jerom made to his judges. "He spoke, says he, like Socrates, and walked to the stake with as much cheerfulness as that great philosopher drank the cup of hemlock."

Since Poggio himself has made this comparison, let it be permitted me to add, that Socrates was in fact condemned upon much the same account as John Hus and Jerom of Prague; that of having incurred the hatred of the sophists and priests of his time: but how wide the difference between the manners of the Athenian senate and those of the council of Constance; between a cup of gentle poison, which, far from being attended with this parade of horror and infamy, suffers the citizen to die quietly in the midst of his friends; and that dreadful punishment by fire, to which the priests and ministers of mercy and peace condemned their brethren; who, though somewhat too obstinate and tenacious in their opinions, were of an exemplary purity of life, and shewed a fortitude that has been the admiration of posterity.

May I be permitted likewise to observe, that in the proceedings of this council, a man, who had been convicted of all manner of crimes, was only divested of his honours, and two persons, accused of some few false reasonings, were condemned to the flames!

Such was the famous council of Constance, which lasted from the 1st of November 1413, to the 20th of May 1418.

Neither the emperor, nor the fathers of the council foresaw the consequences of the execution of John Hus and Jerom of Prague. Out of their ashes arose a civil war; for the Bohemians looked upon this action as an affront offered to their whole country; and imputed the death of their fellow-subjects to the revenge of the Germans, who had withdrawn from the university of Prague. They openly reproached the emperor with

having violated the law of nations : and not
 1419 long afterwards, when Sigismond attempted
 to succeed his brother Wenceslaus in the king-
 dom of Bohemia, he found, that, though he was em-
 peror and king of Hungary, the death of two private
 citizens barred his way to the throne of Bohemia. The
 avengers of John Hus amounted to the number of forty
 thousand, and a set of savages whom the severity of the
 council had rendered wild, and let loose in all the fury
 of mad revenge.

Every priest they met with atoned with his blood
 for the cruelty of the fathers of the council of Con-
 stance. John, surnamed Ziska, which signifies One-
 eyed, chief in barbarity and rank among these bar-
 barians, defeated Sigismond in several battles. This
 same Ziska, having lost his only remaining eye in the
 engagement, still continued to march at the head of
 his troops, giving his orders to his generals, and assist-
 ing at their victories. He commanded his soldiers,
 that after his death they should make a drum of his skin,
 which they obeyed ; and these his remains proved a
 long time fatal to Sigismond, who with difficulty could
 reduce Bohemia in sixteen years, though assisted with
 all the forces in Germany, and the terror of crusades.

Thus he paid for having violated his safe-conduct, by
 sixteen years of war and desolation.

C H A P. LXII.

Of the STATE of EUROPE, at the Time of the
 COUNCIL of CONSTANCE.

OF ITALY.

IF we reflect upon this council, held under the em-
 peror's eye, and in the presence of so many princes
 and ambassadors, and also on the deposition of the
 supreme pontiff, and on that of the emperor Wences-
 laus ; we shall see that the Catholic nations of Europe
 did,

did, in fact, form altogether an immense republic, the chiefs of which were the pope and the emperor; and whose disunited members consisted of kingdoms, provinces, and free cities, under twenty different governments.

There was no one public affair in which the pope and the emperor had not some share: and the several parts of Christendom corresponded with each other, even in the midst of their discords. In fine, Europe was, upon the whole, much the same kind of state with antient Greece, excepting the difference of politeness.

Rome and Rhodes were two cities common to all the Christians of the Latin communion; and the Turkish sultan was their common enemy. These two chiefs of the Catholic world, the emperor and the pope, had in fact only an imaginary greatness, and no real power. If the emperor Sigismund had not been possessed of the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, and even from these he drew but very inconsiderable supplies, the imperial dignity would have been rather a burthen to him than otherwise. The imperial demesnes were all of them alienated, and the princes and cities of Germany no longer able to pay their fines. The Germanic body was at that time also free, although not so well regulated, as it has since been by the peace of Westphalia. The title of king of Italy was as empty as that of sovereign of Germany; the emperor not possessing a single town on the other side the Alps.

We still meet with this question to resolve. Why did not Italy insure to herself the enjoyment of her liberties, and for ever exclude foreign nations? She made continual efforts towards it, and had a right to flatter herself with success. She was in a flourishing condition. The house of Savoy had already began to aggrandize itself, though it had acquired no great increase of power. The sovereigns of this country were feudatories of the empire, and counts. The emperor Sigismund, who had still the power of bestowing titles, made them dukes in 1416; and they are independent kings, tho' with the title of feudatories. The Viscom-

tis possessed the whole Milanese, which became still more powerful under the Sforzas.

The industrious Florentines had rendered themselves a respectable state by their freedom, their genius, and the trade they carried on; and a great number of petty states, even as far as the frontiers of Naples, were daily aspiring at liberty. The system of affairs in Italy remained upon this footing from the death of Frederic II. till the time of the popes Alexander VI. and Julius II. making a period of about three hundred years. But this period was chiefly spent in factious jealousies, or the mutual attempts of one town against another, and the usurpation of tyrants, who made themselves masters of these towns. In short, they exactly resembled antient Greece. The arts were every where cultivated, and conspiracies every where formed: but they had not yet learned to fight as those people did at Thermopylæ and Marathon.

Look into Machiavel's history of Castracani, the tyrant of Lucca and Pistoia, in the time of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, and you will find that the very same designs, and the same successes, fortunate or unfortunate, make the history of Italy. A private family of Verona, named Scala, seized upon the government about the end of the thirteenth century, and kept possession of it for near an hundred years. In the year 1330 they subdued Padua, Vicenza, Trevisa, Parma, Brescia, and several other territories. But in the fifteenth century there did not remain the least footstep of their power. The Viscomtis and the Sforzas, dukes of Milan, passed somewhat late in review; and disappeared likewise never to return again. Of that number of lords, who divided amongst them the territories of Romania, Umbria, and Emilia, there are at present but two or three families remaining, and those subject to the pope.

If you examine the annals of the Italian cities, you will find that there was not one, in which conspiracies were not carried on with as much art, as that of Cataline. It was impossible in those petty states for the discontented to rise up in revolt, or defend them-

selves

selves by force of arms. In the room of these they had frequently recourse to assassinations and poison. One mutiny of the people raised up a new prince, and another pulled him down. Thus, for example, the city of Mantua passed successively from the hands of one tyrant into those of another, till the establishment of the family of Gonzagues in 1328.

Venice is the only one of these states, that has constantly preserved her liberty. This she owes to her watry bulwarks, and the wise form of her government. Genoa, the rival of Venice, frequently engaged, and at length triumphed over her towards the end of the fourteenth century. But Genoa soon afterwards fell into decay, while Venice continued rising till the reigns of Lewis XII. and the emperor Maximilian, when we shall see her filling all Italy with dread, and the powers of Europe with jealousy; who all conspire together for her destruction. Of all the governments in Europe, that of Venice was the best regulated, the most settled, and uniform, and had only one fundamental error, which, however, was not considered as such by the senate; I mean, the want of a counterpoise to the power of the nobles, and a proper encouragement for the common people. In Venice, a private citizen could never hope to rise by his merit, as in ancient Rome. It makes the principal merit of the English government, since the house of commons has had a share in the legislative power, that such a counterpoise is provided, and the road to honour and dignity left open to all who deserve them.

Pisa, which is at present only a depopulated city, dependent on Tuscany, was in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a famous republic, and sent fleets to sea as considerable as those of Genoa.

Parma and Placentia belonged to the Viscomtis; the popes, after being reconciled to that family, having granted them the investiture, as they would not at that time ask it of the emperor, whose power in Italy was daily diminishing. The house of Esté, which had produced the countess Matilda, so famous for her benefactions to the holy see, was possessed at that time of

Ferrara and Modena; the former of which it held of the emperor Otho I. but the holy see still asserted a claim to it, and sometimes granted the investiture of this as well as of several other states in Romania, which furnished an inexhaustible source of trouble and confusion.

It happened that, during the transmigration of the holy see from the banks of the Tiber to those of the Rhone, there existed two imaginary powers in Italy; namely, the emperors and the popes, from whom all the other powers received the diploma, which determined their rights or their usurpations; and even after the holy see was again established in Rome, it remained without any real power; and the emperors continued in a manner forgotten till the time of Maximilian. No foreign power at that time was possessed of any territories in Italy; for we cannot give that name to the houses of Anjou and Arragon, the former of which was established on the throne of Naples in 1266, and the latter in Sicily ever since the year 1287. Thus Italy, rich and full of flourishing cities, and moreover abounding with men of genius, might have put herself in a condition to have rejected the yoke of any nation whatever. She had even one advantage of Germany, which was, that no bishop, except the pope, exercised any sovereign authority; and that the several states, being governed by secular masters, were consequently much fitter for taking the field.

If Italy was troubled with those divisions, which are sometimes the consequences of public liberty, Germany was not in a more tranquil state, while the lords were continually making pretensions to each other's office. But as we have already observed, Italy never formed a body, and Germany did. The German phlegm has hitherto kept the constitution of the state sound and entire; whereas Italy, though as extensive as Germany, has never been able so much as to form a constitution; and, merely from the consequences of a superior understanding and cunning, has suffered itself to be divided into a number of weak states, which have been subjected by foreign nations.

Naples

Naples and Sicily, which under the Norman conquerors made together a formidable power, after the Sicilian vespers became two separate states, envious of each other, and continually striving to injure each other. The weakness of Joan I. first ruined the kingdom of Naples and Provence, of which she was likewise sovereign; and the still more scandalous failings of Joan II. completed its destruction. This princess, who was the last of the race, which St. Lewis's brother had transplanted into Italy, was, as well as her kingdom, in a very low degree of credit during her whole reign. She was sister to the Launcelot who had made Rome tremble, during those times of anarchy which preceded the council of Constance. But Joan herself was far from being formidable. Her amours and court-intrigues proved the scandal and ruin of her dominions. James of Bourbon, her second husband, who had more than once experienced her infidelity, was clapt up in prison, for attempting to complain, and thought himself very happy to make his escape, and retire to conceal his grief, or, as it is called, his shame, in a convent of Franciscan friars, at Besançon.

This Joan II. proved, without her foreseeing it, the cause of two great events. The first was the raising of the Sforzas to the dukedom of Milan; the other, the war carried into Italy by Charles VIII. and Lewis XII.

The advancement of the Sforzas is one of those caprices of fortune, which shew us, that this world belongs to whoever can make themselves masters of it. A country fellow, called Jacomuzio, who had taken arms as a foldier, and changed his name to Sforza, became the queen's favourite, constable of Naples, and standard-bearer of the church, and acquired such an immense fortune, that he left money enough to one of his bastards, wherewith to conquer the duchy of Milan.

The second event, which proved most fatal to Italy and France, was brought about by adoptions. We have already seen that Joan I. adopted Lewis I. of the second branch of the house of Anjou*, and brother to Charles,

* See Chap. LVII.

Charles V. king of France. These adoptions, which were relics of the old Roman laws, conferred the right of succession on the person adopted, who, by virtue of such adoption, took place of the natural heir, but not without the consent of the barons, which in such cases was always necessary. Joan II. at first adopted Alphonso V. king of Arragon, surnamed by the Spaniards, the wise and the magnanimous. But no sooner did this wise and magnanimous prince see himself acknowledged as heir to the queen of Naples, than he divested her of all authority, and even wanted to deprive her of her life. Francis Sforza, son to the illustrious peasant Jacomuzio, first signalized himself in arms on this occasion, and, by delivering his father's benefactress, proved himself deserving of the honours he afterwards arrived at. Joan, after her deliverance, adopted Lewis of Anjou, grandson to that Lewis who had been so vainly adopted by Joan I. This

1435 prince dying, she declared René of Anjou, his brother, her heir and successor. This double adoption proved a double firebrand of discord between France and Spain; and René of Anjou, who had been called to the throne of Naples by an adoptive mother, and to that of Lorraine in right of his wife, proved equally unfortunate in both these kingdoms. He took the title of "king of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, Arragon, Valencia, and Majorca, and duke of Lorraine and Bar;" and yet he was neither of these. The multiplicity of empty titles, assumed without either foundation or consequence, has thrown a confusion into our modern histories, which frequently renders them disagreeable, and even ridiculous to the reader. In short, the history of Europe is become an immense verbal process of marriage contracts, genealogies, and disputed letters, which make the subject appear both dry and obscure, by suppressing great events, and hindering us from coming at the knowledge of the laws and manners of nations; objects far more worthy our attention.

C H A P. LXIII.

OF FRANCE and ENGLAND, in the Time of PHILIP
of VALOIS and EDWARD III.

ENGLAND recovered its strength under Edward I. towards the end of the thirteenth century. This prince, who succeeded his father Henry III. was indeed obliged to give up Normandy, Anjou, and Touraine, the patrimonies of his ancestors, but he still retained the province of Guienne, and likewise made himself master of the principality of Wales. He knew how to restrain the impetuous tempers of the English, and animate them to noble purposes; he rendered their commerce as flourishing and extensive as the nature of the times would permit. The royal house of Scotland being extinct in 1291, he had the glory of being chosen arbitrator, by the pretenders to that crown. His first step was to oblige the Scottish parliament to acknowledge, that their crown was dependent on England; and afterwards he nominated Baliol king, whom he made his vassal. At length he took the kingdom of Scotland for himself, after having conquered it in several battles, but was unable to keep possession of it. Then began that antipathy between the natives of England and Scotland, which, notwithstanding the union of the two crowns, is not yet entirely extinguished.

Under this prince it began to be perceived, that the English would not long continue tributaries to the see of Rome; they made use of various pretences to excuse their non-payment of the taxes imposed on them by that church, and artfully evaded an authority they durst not yet openly attack.

In

In the year 1300, the English parliament began to take a new form *, nearly the same with that it now wears. The title of barons and peers was appropriated only to those who sat in the upper-house, and the house of commons began to regulate the supplies. Edward resolved to give a weight to the lower-house, sufficient to balance the power of the barons; and this prince, who had steadiness and dexterity sufficient to manage, and not to fear them, formed that kind of government, which includes all the advantages of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy; but which at the same time has the inconveniencies of all three, and can never subsist, but under a prudent king. His son proved not to be such, and England was rent in pieces.

Edward I. died as he was going to make another conquest of Scotland, which he had already thrice subdued, and which had as often rebelled again. His son, a youth of twenty-three years of age, though at the head of a numerous army, abandoned his father's designs, to devote himself to pleasures; which appear more unbecoming in a king of England, than in the sovereign of any other nation. His favourites had displeased the nation, especially the queen, daughter to Philip the Fair, a wanton and imperious woman, jealous of her husband, whom she betrayed. The public administration was now a scene of fury, confusion, and weakness, and a prevailing party in the parliament caused a favourite of the king's, whose name was Gaveston, to be
 1312 beheaded. The Scots took advantage of these troubles, defeated the English, and Robert

* It was about the year 1254, and in the reign of Henry III. that the commons of England were first represented in parliament. The barons, who were in rebellion against that weak prince, compelled him to sign commissions, appointing in every county certain officers or magistrates called conservators, for preserving the privileges of the people. Writs were issued to the conservators, commanding them to appoint four knights in every shire, to sit and represent it in the ensuing parliament; and this is the origin of that right which the commons have to sit in the great council of the nation.

bert Bruce, being made king of Scotland, restored that monarchy by the weakness of England.

It is impossible to act with more imprudence, and consequently more unfortunately than Edward II. He suffered his queen Isabella, notwithstanding the provocation he had given her, to go to 1316 France with her son, who was afterwards the happy and famous Edward III.

Charles the Fair, brother of Isabella, and at that time king of France, followed the general policy of all kings, which is to sow discord among their neighbours, and encouraged his sister to make war against her husband.

Thus, under pretence that the king of England was held in a shameful subjection by a young favourite named Spenser, his wife prepares to wage war against him. While she was in France, she married the young prince her son, to a daughter of a count of Hainault and Holland, and persuades that count to lend her troops. At length she returns to England, and with an armed force joins the enemies of the king her husband. Her gallant Mortimer attended her, and commanded her troops, while the king and his favourite Spenser fled before them.

The queen being arrived at Bristol, ordered this favourite's father, an old man of ninety, to be hanged, and afterwards inflicted the same 1326 death on the favourite himself, who fell into her hands at Hereford; and it is said they tore from him while he hung upon the gallows, those members, which it was pretended he had made a criminal use of with his monarch.

After this, the king, abandoned by every one, and a fugitive in his own kingdom, is taken prisoner, carried up to London, insulted by the populace, confined in the Tower, tried by the parliament, and deposed in a solemn manner. His crown was then given to his son, a youth of fourteen years of age, and the queen is invested with the regency, and a council appointed to assist her. In fine, a pension of about 60,000 livres of our present money was allowed the king during life.

Edward

Edward II. did not survive his disgrace above a year. At his death there were no marks of violence found upon his body, but it is said that he was killed

1327 by means of a red hot iron, thrust up his body through a pipe made of horn*.

His son Edward III. soon revenged him of his perfidious wife. This young monarch was yet a minor; but being impatient to grasp the reins of government, which he thought himself able to manage, he one day seized on the person of his mother's gallant, Mortimer earl of March, in her own presence. The parliament condemned this favourite as it had done the Spencers,

1331 without hearing him; and he died by the hands of the common hang-man, not for having dishonoured his king's bed, and for having deposed and murdered him, but for having been guilty of extortion and misdemeanors, crimes which ministers of state are always accused of. The queen-mother was confined in a castle, with a pension of five hundred pounds sterling†, where she remained in solitude, and lamented more her misfortunes than her crimes.

Edward, being now master, and soon after absolute master of the kingdom, began his reign by the conquest of Scotland; but now a new scene was opened in France, and all Europe stood in suspense to see whether Edward would acquire this kingdom by right of blood or right of conquest.

France, which comprehended neither Provence, Dauphiny, nor the Franche-Comté, was still a formidable kingdom; but its king was not yet possessed of much power. The large demesnes, such as Burgundy, Artois, Flanders, Brittany, and Guienne, which were held as fiefs of the crown, always contributed more to the uneasiness than to the grandeur of the prince.

The demesnes of Philip the Fair, with the imposts on his immediate subjects, amounted to 80,000 marks.

When

* The unfortunate Edward II. was murdered in Berkely castle in Gloucestershire, by Sir John Gurney, and John de Mautrevers, instigated by the bishop of Hereford.

† Her allowance amounted to four thousand pounds a year.

When he went to war with the Flemings in 1302, and almost all the vassals of France contributed towards the expence of that war, a tax of one-fifth was laid on the revenues of all secular persons, who, on account of their callings, were dispensed with attending the campaign. If the people were unhappy, the royal family was still more so. Nothing is better known than the infamy to which the three sons of Philip the Fair subjected themselves at the same time, by accusing their wives of adultery in open court, who were thereupon all three ordered into close confinement. Lewis Hutin, the eldest of Philip's sons, strangled his wife, Margaret of Bourdeaux. The gallants of those princesses were condemned to suffer a new kind of punishment, that of being flay'd alive.

After the death of Lewis Hutin (or Lewis X.) who, like his father, annexed 1316 Navarre to the crown of France; the public attention was wholly engrossed by the question concerning the Salic law. This king had left only one daughter, and it had never been examined in France, whether females had a right to inherit the crown. Laws are always made for the present occasion. They had no knowledge at that time of the antient Salic laws; but had supplied the want of them by established customs, and these customs were perpetually changing in France. The parliament, under Philip the Fair, had adjudged the county of Artois to a female, in prejudice to the next heir male. The succession of Champagne had been decided sometimes in favour of the females, and at other times taken from them. Philip the Fair possessed Champagne wholly in right of his wife, by whom the princes of the family were excluded.

These examples shew us, that right varied with fortune, and that it was far from being a fundamental law of the state, to exclude the daughter from her father's throne. To say, with a number of authors, "that the French crown is so noble, that it cannot admit of women," is in my opinion a puerile assertion, and to say with Mezeray, "that the weakness of their sex does not permit women to reign," is doubly unjust; besides, the
article

article of this antient law, which deprives the females of all right of inheritance in Salic land, seems to be founded on this, that every Salic lord was obliged to appear in arms at the public assemblies of the nation. Now a queen is not obliged to bear arms, the nation does it for her. Hence we may fairly infer, that the Salic law, in other respects so little known, related to the other fiefs, and not to the crown; and so little was it esteemed a law with respect to kings, that it was ranked under the head *de allodiis* or *of allodials*. Besides, if this law was made by the antient Salians, it must have been made before there were any kings of France, and consequently could not relate to these kings *.

Again, it is beyond a doubt, that there were several fiefs not subject to this law, and by a much stronger reason might it be said, that the crown ought not to be subject to it. These arguments were for some time maintained by the duke of Burgundy, uncle of the princess, daughter to Lewis X. and by several princesses of the blood. Lewis Hutin had two brothers, who within a short time succeeded one after another, the elder was Philip the Long, and the younger Charles the Fair. Charles at that time, not thinking he was so near to the crown, opposed the Salic law out of jealousy to his brother.

Philip the Long took care to have it declared at a meeting of barons, prelates, and burghers of Paris, that females ought to be excluded from the crown of France. But had the opposite party prevailed, they would soon have enacted a quite contrary fundamental law.

This

* The particular expression, on which the French found the exclusion of Females, is in the sixty-second article of the code, containing the laws of the Ripuarians and Salians. It imports, that in Salic land, no portion of the inheritance descends to the females, but, being acquired by the males, they only are capable of the succession. In all probability the Salic land, to which this expression alludes, was no more than certain conquered estates held by knight's service, in contradistinction to other estates termed *allodial*, which might be acquired by descent, marriage, or purchase, without any exclusion of the female sex.

This Philip, who is known for little else than having excluded the bishops from a seat in parliament, died after a short reign, and left only daughters behind him. The Salic law was then confirmed the second time; and Charles the Fair, who had so strongly opposed it, succeeded to the crown without the least dispute, and excluded his brother's daughters.

Charles the Fair, at his death, left the same cause to be again decided. He had left his queen with child, and a regent was wanting to the kingdom. Edward III. pretended to the regency, as grandson to Philip the Fair, by the mother's side, and Philip of Valois took possession of it in quality of first prince of the blood; which was afterwards solemnly conferred upon him, and the queen being brought to-bed of a daughter, he ascended the throne with the general consent of the nation. It appears then that this Salic law, by which all females were excluded from the crown, was a law of the heart, and had become a fundamental law by antient and universal agreement. There are indeed no other, since all laws are made and abrogated by men. And can any one doubt, that if ever it should happen, that the blood royal of France should become wholly extinct, excepting in one princess, and she worthy of reigning, that the nation might not, and ought not to confer the crown on her?

At that time Philip of Valois had the surname of the *Fortunate* given him by the people; he might also for a while have been called the *Just* and the *Victorious*; for the count of Flanders, who was his vassal, having oppressed his subjects, they revolted against him, upon which Philip marched to the assistance of that prince, and, when he had quelled the rebellion, he advised him "to take care not to cause any more revolts by his ill conduct."

He might moreover, be called the *Fortunate*, when at Amiens he received the solemn homage yielded to him by Edward III. But this homage was soon followed by a war; Edward disputing the crown with Philip, after he had acknowledged himself his vassal.

A brewer

A brewer of the city of Ghent was the principal promoter of this famous war, and the person who determined Edward to take the title of king of France. This brewer, whose name was James d'Artevelt *, was one of those subjects, whom princes ought either to ruin or to keep fair with. The prodigious credit, he had obtained among his countrymen, made him a necessary instrument to Edward; but he would not exert this credit in behalf of the English monarch, unless he would take the title of king of France, in order to make an irreconcilable breach between the two kings. Edward and the brewer signed this treaty at Ghent, long before hostilities had been commenced against France.

I shall spare myself the trouble of entering into a detail of wars, which are mostly alike, and confine myself to those things which serve to characterise the manners of the times: and here I must take notice, that Edward defied Philip de Valois to single combat, which the latter refused, saying, "It was not for a sovereign prince to fight with his vassal."

In the mean time, a new event happened, which seemed again to overturn the Salic law. Brittany, a fief of the crown of France, had been lately adjudged by the court of peers to Charles of Blois, who had espoused the daughter of the last duke, and the
 1341 count of Montfort, this duke's uncle, had been disinherited. The laws and private interest were here in contradiction. The king of France, who, one would think, should have maintained the Salic law in the count of Montfort's cause, sided with Charles of Blois; and the king of England, who ought to have supported the right of the females in Charles of Blois, declared in favour of the count of Montfort.

Upon this occasion, the war was renewed between France and England. At first Montfort is surprized in the city of Nantes, and carried prisoner to Paris, where he was confined in the tower of the Louvre: his wife, the daughter of the earl of Flanders, was one of those heroines,

* Or Jacob Van Artevelt.

heroines, who so seldom make their appearance in the world, and from whom the fable of the Amazons was doubtless first invented. She presented herself to her husband's troops, holding her young son in her arms, with a sword in her hand, and a helmet on her head. She stoutly defended the town of Hennebon, and at length, with the assistance of the English fleet, she obliged the enemy to raise the siege.

While this was passing, the English and French parties carried on the war in Guienne, Brittany, and Normandy. At length was fought the bloody battle of Cressy, between Edward and Philip of Valois, near the river Somme. Aug. 26, Edward had with him his son, the prince of Wales, called the Black Prince, on account of his brown armour, and a black plume of feathers he wore on his helmet. This young prince had almost the whole honour of the day. Some historians have attributed the defeat of the French to some pieces of cannon, which the English had provided themselves with on this occasion*. It had been upwards of ten or twelve years since the use of artillery had been introduced.

It has been a question, whether this invention, which originally came from the Chinese, was brought into Europe by the Arabians, who traffic on the Indian seas? I can hardly think it. It was a Benedictine monk, named Berthold Schwartz, who first discovered this fatal secret. Several however had approached pretty near to it before his time. Roger Bacon, who was likewise a priest, and of the same order, had a long time before taken notice of violent explosions that might be produced from salt-petre pent up. But how happened it, that the French king had not cannon in his army, as well as the king of England? Or, if the English had this superior advantage, why do all our historians throw the loss of the battle on the Genoese cross-

* No English or French historian, that we know, makes mention of any cannon on either side at this battle. Villani indeed takes notice of the circumstance, but in all probability he is mistaken.

cross-bowmen, whom Philip had in his pay ? and whose bow-strings had been rendered useless by a sudden shower of rain ; whilst those of the English archers were not the least wetted * ? These historians, however, might have with more justice observed, that a prince, who, like the king of France, hired Genoese archers, instead of training to discipline the people of his own nation, and who suffered his own army to want cannon, when that of the enemy was provided with them, did not deserve to conquer.

It is very strange, that, considering the total change the use of gunpowder must have wrought in the art of war, we have never been able to trace out the æra of this change. A nation, that was able to procure a good train of artillery, must doubtless have been superior to all others. This was of all arts the most fatal ; but, at the same time, that which required to be carried to the greatest perfection. And yet even in the time of Charles VIII. it still continued in its infancy ; so prevalent are antient customs, and such the bar which indolence throws in the way of human industry ! They did not know the use of artillery in ships till the time of Charles V. and lances continued to be the chief warlike weapons in most engagements, till the latter end of the reign of Henry IV.

It is pretended, that, at the battle of Cressy, the enemy had no more than 2500 horsemen in complete armour, and 40,000 foot ; and that the French had 40,000 foot, and near 3000 men at arms. Those, who are for making the loss still less on the side of the French, say, that their army did not amount in the whole to more than 20,000 men †.

The

* The English historians expressly say, that their archers kept their bows in cases, until the rain, or rather shower, was over.

† The author must certainly be greatly mistaken in this account of the force of the two armies. The best historians inform us, that Philip divided his army into three distinct bodies, the first of which, commanded by John de Luxemburgh, the blind king of Bohemia, consisted of 3000 men at arms, 29,000 infantry, and 15,000 Genoese cross-bows. The second division, conducted by

Charles

The count of Blois, who was one of the seeming causes of this war, was killed in this battle; and the following day the troops of the commons of the kingdom were likewise defeated. Edward, after two victories, obtained within two days, took the town of Calais, which the English remained in possession of 210 years.

This war, which was carried on at the same time in Guienne, Brittany, Normandy, and Picardy, drained both France and England of men and money. And yet that was a very unfit time for ambition to display itself in the destruction of the human species: they should rather have united against a scourge of another kind. A terrible plague, which had made the circuit of the world, and had depopulated 1347 Asia and Africa, now made dreadful havoc and in Europe, and especially in France and 1348 England*.

Mezeray has said after others, that this plague came from China, and that there arose out of the earth an inflammatory exhalation, in the form of a globe of fire, which, bursting, dispersed its infectious contents over the whole hemisphere. Methinks this is ascribing too fabulous an origin to so certain a calamity. In the first place, we have no instance of any such meteorical exhalations having ever caused the plague; and, in the second place, the Chinese annals make no mention of any

Charles, count of Alencon, was composed of 4000 men at arms, and 20,000 infantry; and the third body, commanded by Philip in person, consisted of 12,000 men at arms, and 50,000 infantry; making in all 19,000 horsemen, and 114,000 foot. Whereas the English army did not consist at most of above 36,000 men, viz. in the first line, commanded by the prince of Wales, there were 800 men at arms, 4000 archers, and 6000 infantry; in the second line, there were 8000 men at arms, 4000 halberdiers, and about 2000 archers; the third line, commanded by the king himself, was composed of 7000 men at arms, 5300 bill men, and 6000 archers.

* In the first six months of this plague (which lasted two years) 57,000 persons are said to have died of it in the cities of Norwich and London.

any contagious distemper, except that in the year 1504. The plague, properly so called, is a malady peculiar to the climate of the middle part of Africa, as the small-pox is to Arabia, and the poison, which infects the springs of life, to the Caribbee islands. Every climate of this wretched globe, in which nature has every-where blended the evil with the good, has its particular poisons. This plague, which made such havoc in the 14th century, resembled those which depopulated the world, under the reign of Justinian, and in the time of Hippocrates; and during the continuance of this heavy scourge, king Edward and Philip of Valois fought only for the mastery over expiring subjects.

After a series of so many calamities, after the elements and the unbridled fury of ambitious men seemed to have combined to desolate the face of the earth, it is astonishing to see Europe in so flourishing a condition. The only resources, left for mankind in those times of universal distress, were the towns which were beneath the notice of the great lords. There industry and commerce repaired in secret the evils which the princes of the world perpetrated with so much noise and ostentation. England, during the reign of Edward III. abundantly repaid herself the immense sums, she had been obliged to lavish in support of her monarch's enterprizes. She found a market for her wool at Brussels, the inhabitants of which manufactured it. The Flemings likewise employed themselves in various manufactures. The hanse towns * formed a republic useful to mankind; and the arts maintained their footing in all the free and commercial cities of Italy. These arts only require to spread themselves and to encrease; and, after the fury of the general storm is over, they transplant themselves, as it were of their own accord, into those desolated countries, which stand in need of them.

During this situation of affairs died Philip
1350 of Valois, far from carrying with him to his grave the title of Fortunate, tho' he had annexed

* The hanse towns, a well known confederacy of trading cities in different parts of Europe.

nexed Dauphiné to the kingdom of France. The last prince of this country having lost all his children, and being tired with the wars which he had maintained against Savoy, gave Dauphiné to the king of France, in 1349, and became a Dominican friar at Paris.

This Province, so named from one of its kings, having taken a dolphin (in French called dauphin) for his arms, made a part of the kingdom of Arles, which was one of the imperial demesnes; so that the king of France became by this acquisition a feudatory to the emperor Charles IV. We know for certain, that the emperors always claimed a right of jurisdiction over this province, till the time of Maximilian I. and the German civilians insist to this day, that it ought to depend as a fief on the empire. Its princes, however, think differently. In fact, nothing is more vain than researches of this nature; and they might as well assert, that the emperors have a claim to Egypt, because Augustus was once master of it.

Philip of Valois had also encreased his demesnes by the accession of the provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne, which a king of Majorca, of the house of Arragon, had mortgaged to him for a sum of money, and which Charles VIII. restored again, without being reimbursed. He also made the acquisition of Montpellier, which has ever since continued in the house of France.

It may appear surprising, that Philip, during so troublesome a reign, should have been able to purchase these provinces, besides paying so much money for Dauphiné. But the duties upon salt, which the people called Philip's Salic Law, the augmentation of the taxes, and the frequent alteration of the coin, had enabled him to make these purchases, by which the state indeed became encreased, but was at the same time greatly impoverished; and although this prince had at first the appellation of Fortunate, his subjects had never the least claim to that title; and yet, under the reign of his son John, they regretted even the times of Philip of Valois.

The most interesting affair, with respect to the people, during this reign, was the law of writs of error, which the parliament gradually introduced, with the

a assistance of the attorney-general, Peter Cugnieres. The clergy made loud complaints against this act; but the king contented himself with winking at this new custom, and would not oppose a remedy, which added a fresh support to his authority, and the laws of the realm.

A writ of error, which is to be lodged in the courts of parliament of the kingdom, takes place upon cause of complaint for any unjust or insufficient sentence given by the ecclesiastical courts; any declaration which destroys the royal jurisdiction, or an opposition made to the pope's bull, which may be contrary to the rights of the king and kingdom.

This state-remedy, or rather palliative medicine, was no other than a weak imitation of the famous statute of *premunire* *, enacted by the parliament of England, in the reign of Edward III. by which statute every one, who prosecuted a cause in an ecclesiastical court, which properly fell under the cognizance of the king's courts, was punished with imprisonment. The English have generally set an example to other nations in all matters relative to the liberties of the state.

CHAP.

* Edward III. in the 27th year of his reign, enacted a law against those who drew the subjects out of the realm, to prosecute causes that properly belonged to the king's court: but that law, which was known by the name of The Statute of *Premunire*, was made in the reign of Richard II. decreeing, that the offenders should be put out of the king's protection, forfeit their lands and goods, and be imprisoned and ransomed at the king's pleasure.

C H A P. LXIV.

OF FRANCE, under King JOHN.

THIS reign proved still more unfortunate to France than the foregoing. John, who was surnamed The Good, began his reign with ordering the count d'Eu *, his constable of France, to be assassinated in his own palace. Soon after his cousin and son-in-law, the king of Navarre, ordered 1354 the new constable † to be murdered. This king of Navarre, Charles Petit, who was son to Lewis Hutin, and king of Navarre in his mother's right, and a prince of the blood by the father's side, was, as well as king John, one of the scourges of France, and well deserved the title of Charles the Bad.

The king, after having been obliged to pardon him in full parliament, caused him to be 1355 apprehended for a much smaller crime, and, without any form of trial, ordered four of his friends to be beheaded. These dreadful executions were the consequences of a weak government, which produced cabals; these cabals brought on acts of the blackest revenge, which ended in a severe but untimely repentance.

John, being in want of money, had begun his reign with renewing the false coin which had been current in his father's time, and had threatened to put the officers entrusted with this secret to death. These abuses were

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* Raoul, count of Eu and Guynes, had been prisoner in England, from whence he was just returned. The king, being informed that he was concerned in some intrigues against the state, ordered him to be arrested and beheaded without form of trial.

† The king of Navarre, incensed to see the county of Angoulême, which he had begged of the king, given to Charles of Spain, constable of France, whom he looked upon as his mortal enemy, he way-laid and assassinated him at l'Aigle in Normandy.

at once the effects and proofs of a disastrous time : misfortunes and abuses produce at length salutary laws. France was for some time under the same kind of administration with its neighbouring kingdom England. The kings called a general assembly of the states ; this assembly had been substituted in the place of the antient parliaments of the kingdom. These general assemblies were exactly the same with the parliaments of England, being composed of nobles, bishops, and deputies, from the several towns ; and that which was called The New Parliament, and sate at Paris, was nearly the same with the court of king's bench in London. The chancellor was the second officer of the crown in both kingdoms. In England he spoke for the king in the general assembly of the states, and had a right of superintendency over the court of king's bench *. He was the same in France ; and what proves beyond contradiction, that the administration was carried on upon the same principles, both at Paris and at London is, that the assembly of the states of France in 1355 enacted, and obliged king John to sign almost the same kind of regulations, nay almost the same kind of charter with that which the barons of England obliged their king John to subscribe. The supplies, the nature and term of these supplies, and the value of the species, were all regulated in this assembly. The king obliged himself not to compel the subject for the future to furnish provision for his household, unless paid for it ; never to make any alteration in the coin, &c. &c. &c.

This assembly of the states in 1355, which was the most memorable of any ever held in France, has been taken the least notice of by our historians. Father Daniel only says, that it was held in the hall of the new court of parliament. But here it will be necessary to observe,

* The chancellor of England never had any right of superintendency over the king's bench, which is the *custas morum* of all the subjects in the realm, where the king is supposed to preside in person. Far from its being subordinate to chancery, it hath been held, that upon judgment given in that court, writ of error in some cases will lie returnable in the king's bench : nay, it hath been asserted, that a writ of error lies in the king's bench of an attainder before the lord high steward.

observe, that the parliament was not at that time perpetual, and had no place in this great assembly of the states. In fact, the provost of the merchants of Paris, being in virtue of his office the natural deputy of the first city in the kingdom, was speaker for the third state.

There is one essential point in history which has been passed over in silence: this is, that the states granted a supply of about 150,000 marks of silver for paying 30,000 gendarmes; this makes about nine millions five hundred thousand livres of our present money. These 30,000 gendarmes were part of an army of at least 80,000 men, to which the commons of the kingdom were also to be added, and at the expiration of the year, another supply was to be provided for the maintenance of the same army. Lastly, we must observe that this great charter proved only a temporary regulation in France; whereas it was made an established law among the English.

At length the Black Prince, with a small, but formidable army, advanced as far as Poitiers, and ravaged all those territories which had formerly made part of the demesnes of his ancestors. King John, at the head of 60,000 armed men*, immediately flew to meet him; whereas had the French king declined coming to an engagement, it is obvious to every one, that he might have starved the whole English army. 1356 Sept.

If the Black Prince committed a fault in advancing too hastily, John was guilty of a much greater one in attacking him. This battle of Maupertuis, or Poitiers, greatly resembled that which had formerly been lost by Philip de Valois. There was order and discipline in the army of the Black Prince, whereas the French had only courage; and this was overcome by the superior courage of the English and Gascoons who fought under the prince of Wales. We do not find it said, that cannon was made use of by either army in this battle.

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* Besides infantry.

The silence of writers in this respect leaves room to doubt whether there was any used at the battle of Crécy; or, at least, it proves, that if there was, it had proved of very little effect, and upon that account they had discontinued the use of it: it may likewise serve to shew, how apt men are to slight advantageous discoveries on account of their novelty, and for the sake of adhering to an old established custom; or, lastly, it is a tacit reflection on the negligence and inaccuracy of historical writers.

Most of the French knights were slain in this battle; the rest fled; and the king, being wounded in the face, was taken prisoner with one of his sons. It is worthy of notice, that this monarch surrendered himself to one of his subjects * whom he had banished, and who on this occasion served against him in the enemy's army. The same thing happened to Francis I. †.

The Black Prince conducted his two royal captives to Bourdeaux, and from thence they were conveyed to London. It is well known, that upon this occasion he behaved with the utmost tenderness and respect to the king of France. His moderation added new lustre to the glory he had acquired by his valour. He made his entrance into London upon a little black horse, and rode on the left hand of his prisoner, who was mounted on a horse of remarkable beauty, and ornamented with the richest trappings.

The king's confinement proved the signal of a civil war in Paris; every one was immediately for forming a party. Factions are generally established upon the pretext of reformation. Charles, the dauphin of France, who was afterwards the wise king Charles V. was declared regent of the kingdom; but it was only to see almost the whole kingdom revolt against him.

Paris at that time was become a formidable city, for it contained 50,000 men able to bear arms. On this occasion

* Named Dennis de Morhec, a knight of Artois, who, coming up to him when he was deserted by all his followers, exhorted him to yield; upon which John threw his gauntlet to him in signal of surrender.

† At the battle of Pavia.

casion they first invented the use of chains in the streets, which served for intrenchments against the revolvers. Charles the dauphin, now found himself obliged to release the king of Navarre, whom his father had confined in prison. This was in fact letting loose an enemy against himself. The king of Navarre arrives at Paris, and arrives to blow the coals of sedition. 1357 Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris, enters the Louvre, at the head of the malecontents, where he causes Robert de Clermont, marshal of France, together with the marshal of Champagne, to be massacred before the dauphin's eyes. In the mean time, the peasants assemble from all parts, and in the hurry of the tumult fall upon all the gentlemen they meet with in their way, treating them as revolted slaves may be supposed to treat those severe masters, who happen to fall into their hands, revenging themselves upon them by a thousand cruel punishments for the meanness of their condition, and the miseries they had suffered; and they even carried their brutal fury so far as to roast a nobleman in his castle, and to compel his wife and daughters to eat the flesh.

During these commotions in the state, Charles of Navarre aspired to the crown. And the dauphin and he waged war with one another, which ended only in a dissembled peace. In this manner was the unhappy kingdom rent in pieces, for the space of four years, after the battle of Poitiers. How comes it that Edward and his son did not take advantage of their victory, and the misfortunes of the conquered? It seems as if the English were afraid their prince should grow too powerful, and therefore were tardy in their supplies. Thus Edward was treating about the ransom of his prisoner, while the Black Prince was concluding a truce *.

I 4

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* This truce was mediated at Bourdeaux, by the cardinals of Perigord and St. Vital, whom pope Innocent VI. had sent thither for that purpose. We must not imagine that the conduct of princes is always influenced by matters of policy. They, as well as individuals, have their passions, their prejudices, their fears, and their weaknesses.

It is evident to me that there were faults committed on all sides. But I cannot comprehend why all our historians should have been weak enough to assert, that Edward III. being come into France to reap the fruits of the two victories of Cressly and Poitiers, 1360 and being advanced within a few leagues of Paris, was on a sudden struck with an holy panic, occasioned by a violent shower of rain, and that falling upon his knees, he made a vow to the holy Virgin, to grant the French terms of peace. When was it ever known that a shower of rain determined the wills of conquerors, or the fate of nations? If Edward III. did make any vow to the Virgin Mary, it was doubtless such an one as was for his own advantage; for he demanded for the king's ransom, Poitou, Saint-onge, Agenois, Perigord, Limousin, Quercy, Angoumois, Rouvergue, and all that he had possessed himself of in the neighbourhood of Calais; the whole in full sovereignty. I am surprized that he did not at the same time insist upon Normandy and Anjou, his antient patrimony. He further demanded the sum of three millions of gold crowns.

Edward, by this treaty, ceded to John the title of king of France, together with all his rights to Normandy, Touraine, and Anjou. It is certain, that the antient demesnes which the kings of England had formerly possessed in France, were much more considerable than what was yielded to Edward by this treaty; and nevertheless this was a fourth part of the kingdom.

At length John was released from his four years confinement in the Tower of London, upon delivering up his brother, and two of his sons as hostages. One of the greatest difficulties was to raise the money for his ransom. He was to pay 600,000 gold crowns for the first payment, and he well knew that France was so impoverished that she could not raise that sum. In this exigence he was obliged to recal the Jews, and to sell them the privilege of living and trading in the country. The king himself was obliged to pay for the necessaries of the household, with leathern money, in the middle of which there was a little silver nail. The poverty
and

and misfortunes of this prince stripped him of all authority, and his kingdom of all good government.

The soldiers who were disbanded, and the peasants who had in the late troubles learnt something of the art of war, formed themselves into parties in the different provinces, but especially beyond the Loire. One of their chiefs took the name of "The friend of God, and enemy to all the world." A fellow named John de Gouge, a burgher of Sens, caused himself to be declared king by these banditti, and did almost as much mischief to the kingdom by his depredations, as the true king had done by his misfortunes. In fine, what is most surprising, the king, in the midst of this general desolation, made a journey to Avignon, where the popes then resided, to revive the antient projects of the Crusades.

A king of Cyprus had lately come to solicit this expedition against the Turks, who already began to spread themselves over Europe. Probably king John was only desirous to leave his native country; but instead of undertaking this ridiculous voyage against the Turks, finding himself unable to discharge the remainder of his ransom to the English, he returned to London, to surrender himself up as hostage in the room of his brother and his children. There he 1363 died, and his ransom was never paid. To complete his humiliation, it is said that his sole motive for returning to England, was to see a woman whom he had fallen in love with at the age of fifty-six.

Brittany, which had been the cause of this war, was abandoned to its fate. The count of Blois, and the count of Montfort, disputed this province with each other. Montfort, who was just returned from his confinement at Paris, and Blois from his at London, decided their quarrel in a pitched 1364 battle fought near Avray; when the fortune of the English again prevailed, and the count of Blois was slain.

These times of ignorance, sedition, rapine, and murder, were however those in which chivalry shone in its greatest lustre. As this institution served in some mea-

sure to counter-balance the general brutality of manners, we shall consider it apart. Honour and generosity, joined with gallantry, were its fundamental principles. The most celebrated feat of arms in the annals of chivalry, is the combat between thirty Bretons against twenty English six Bretons and four Germans, which happened at the time that the countess of Blois, in the name of her deceased husband; and Montfort's widow, in the name of her son, carried on war against each other in Brittany, in the year 1351. This famous combat was concerning a point of honour, and took its rise at a conference held about a treaty of peace. At this meeting, instead of deliberating upon the matter in hand, both sides began to brave each other; and Beaumanoir, who was the chief of the Bretons that were for the countess of Blois, proposed a combat, to decide who had the handsomest mistress. Accordingly, the challenge being accepted, the combatants, to the number of sixty, met upon a spot of ground enclosed for the purpose. Of the sixty combatants there were five knights only killed, one on the side of the Bretons, and four of the English. This confirms a remark we have already made, namely, that the complete armour of those times rendered the wearer in a manner invulnerable, and that it was much easier to throw a knight to the ground, than to kill him when he was fallen *. But all these feats of arms were of no real service; for they neither contributed to the better disciplining the troops, nor remedied the abuses of an almost savage administration. Had the Pauli-Æmilii and the Scipios of Rome fought hand to hand with their enemy, to determine who had the handsomest mistress, the Romans would never have been the conquerors and law-givers of the world.

At the time when Charles V. surnamed the Wise, came to the crown of France, he found the kingdom in a most exhausted and desolate condition, and was therefore obliged to have recourse to patience, to intrigues, and to negotiations, as the most effectual means of

* See Chap. XXVIII. Vol. I.

of repairing the mischiefs which had been caused by his father's misfortunes. But the Black Prince, now absolute master of Guienne, which his father Edward had bestowed on him in full sovereignty, as a reward for his valour, soon added new laurels to those he had already won in the fields of Cressy and Poitiers.

C H A P. LXV.

Of the BLACK PRINCE.

Of Don PEDRO the Cruel, king of Castille, and of the Constable Du GUESCLIN.

THE kingdom of Castille was almost in as miserable a condition as France. Peter or Don Pedro, surnamed the Cruel, sat upon the throne, whom historians have represented as a merciless tiger, that thirsted after human blood, and even felt a ferocious joy in spilling it. I dare affirm, that there does not exist such a character in nature. Sanguinary men are only such in the transports of revenge, or in the severity of that horrid policy, which considers cruelty as a necessary measure; but no man ever spills blood merely for his pleasure*.

This prince ascended the throne of Castille a minor, and under a very unfavourable circumstance. His father, Alphonso XI. had had seven bastards by his mistress, Eleonora de Gusman. These bastards had such powerful settlements left them, that they defied the royal authority;

* It were to be wished, for the sake of humanity, that our author's assertion was true; but we cannot see why a brutal disposition may not be as much delighted with human carnage as with bear or bull-baiting. Witness the pleasure which even the Romans took, in the combats of the gladiators and prisoners, the pastime of a Nero, a Caligula, a Heliogabalus, and, almost in our days, of Muley Ishmael, tyrant of Morocco, who used to slay his innocent subjects with his own hand, in the way of common exercise and diversion.

authority; and their mother, who had still more power than they, insulted the queen-dowager. In short, the kingdom of Castille was divided into two parties, one of which sided with the queen-mother, and the other with Eleonora de Gusman; so that when the young king came of age, he found himself obliged to maintain a civil war against the faction of the bastards. He engaged them in several battles, proved victorious, and at last put Eleonora to death, to satisfy his mother's revenge †. Thus far he might be termed valiant, but too severe. He afterwards es-

1351 poused Blanche of Bourbon, and the first news he heard concerning his wife, upon her arrival at Valladolid, was, that she had fallen in love with the grand-master of St. Jago, one of those very bastards who had waged war against him. I am sensible that intrigues of this nature are seldom authenticated by proofs, and that a prudent king ought rather to pretend ignorance in such matters, than blindly follow the dictates of revenge; but after all, the king was excusable, since there is to this day a family in Spain which boasts of being descended from this adulterous commerce.

Queen Blanche had at least the imprudence to enter into too close a connection with the faction of the bastards, her husband's enemies. Can we then be surprized,

† Eleonora was perfidiously murdered at Talavera, in violation of the public faith, before any civil war was excited. Immediately after this cruel assassination, he repaired to Burgos, and sent for Garcilasso de la Vega, who no sooner entered the palace, than Pedro caused him to be dispatched, and his body thrown into the street. His own brother, Don Frederic, was butchered in his presence, in the hall of the palace at Seville, and he dined in the same room, before the body was removed. His other brother, Don Tello, was destined to the same fate, but escaped. His cousin, Don Juan of Arragon, was stabbed in his presence at Bilboa, and the body was thrown out of a window, from whence Pedro insulted it, in the hearing of the populace. This nobleman's widow he poisoned, and his own aunt, the queen-dowager of Arragon, he put to death. He sacrificed his own queen, Donna Blanca, a princess of the most amiable character; and embued his hands in so many murders that he seems to have been destitute of all sentiments of humanity.

prized, that the king left her in a castle, and consoled himself with other amours?

Don Pedro therefore had, at the same time, the king of Arragon and his rebellious brothers to encounter. Victory however still followed him, and it must be confessed, he made a cruel use of it. He seldom forgave, and his relations, who were found in arms against him, were sacrificed to his resentment. In short, he ordered the grand master of St. Jago to be put to death. This action procured him the name of Cruel, while John, king of France who had assassinated his constable, and four Norman lords, was called John the Good.

During these troubles his wife Blanche died. She had been judged culpable, and of course it was said she died by poison. But let me once more observe, that we should be cautious how we give credit to a charge of this nature, without sufficient proof.

It was, doubtless, the interest of the king's enemies, to spread a report about Europe of his having poisoned his wife. Henry de Trastamare, one of the bastards, who had the death of a mother and a brother to revenge, and what was still more, his own interest to support, took advantage of this conjuncture. France was at that time infested by those united banditti called *Malandrini* *, who did all the mischief which Edward of England had not been able to do. This Henry de Trastamare entered into a treaty with Charles V. to rid France of those freebooters, by taking them into his service. The king of Arragon, always an enemy to the

* This is the name given in Spanish romances to robbers and ruffians. The *Malandrini* here mentioned were free-booting companies, formed of the soldiers who had been disbanded at the peace. A great number of them were English; Sir Hugh de Calverly and Sir Matthew Gournay were two of their principal chieftains. They engaged with du Guesclin in a formal treaty, stipulating that they should receive a certain consideration in money from the king of France and the pope; that his holiness should absolve them from the censures they had incurred; that du Guesclin should be their commander; and that they should not be desired to serve against the prince of Wales, whom they adored. It was because the pope delayed the payment of the sum he had promised, that they afterwards laid him under contribution.

the sovereign of Castille, promised to grant them a free passage though his dominions. Bertrand de Guesclin, a knight of great reputation, who only sought for an opportunity to signalize himself, engaged the Malandrins to acknowledge him as their chief, and follow him into Castille. This enterprize of du Guesclin has been considered as an holy action, which he performed, as he himself acknowledged, for the good of his soul. The holiness of this action consisted in leading a band of robbers, to assist a rebel against his lawful, though cruel sovereign.

It is well known, that du Guesclin, in passing by Avignon, being in want of money to pay his troops, obliged the pope to give him a large sum for the safety of himself and his court. This was at that time a necessary extortion, but I dare not mention the name which would have been given it, had it not been done by one who commanded a troop that might pass for a little army.

The bastard Henry, assisted by these troops, 1366 which had increased in their march, and likewise supported by the king of Arragon, began, by causing himself to be proclaimed king in the town of Burgos. Don Pedro, finding himself thus attacked by the French, applied for assistance to the Black Prince, their conqueror. This prince, who was sovereign of Guienne, and consequently must have beheld with a jealous eye any success of the French arms in Spain, determined by interest and honour, espoused the justest side, and marched to the assistance of Pedro, with his Gascoons and some English; and soon after was fought, on the banks of the Ebro, near the village of Navarette, the bloody battle which is called by that name, between Don Pedro and the Black Prince on the one side, and Henry de Trastamare and the constable du Guesclin on the other. This battle proved more glorious to the Black Prince, than even those of Cressy and Poitiers had done; because here the field was longer disputed. In a word, his victory was complete; for

for he took Bertrand du Guesclin * and the marechal d' Andrehen prisoners, who would surrender to no one but him.

Henry de Traстамare, after the loss of this battle, was obliged to fly into Arragon; and the Black Prince resettled Don Pedro on the throne. Don Pedro, on this occasion, exerted the unhappy right of revenge in its full extent, and treated several of the rebels with all that severity which the laws of government authorize under the name of justice. The 1368 Black Prince, who had the glory of restoring him to his crown, had also that of putting a stop to his cruelties †: and indeed this prince is, next to Alfred, the hero whom the English hold most in veneration.

As soon as the supporter of Don Pedro was withdrawn, and Bertrand du Guesclin had paid his ransom, the bastard of Traстамare revived the party of the malecontents, and du Guesclin, at the private instigation of the French king, Charles V. began to raise new troops.

The count de Traстамare had, on his side, Arragon, the rebels of Castille, and the succours of France; while not only the greater part of the Castillians, but also Portugal, and the Moors of Spain, declared for Don Pedro, who only gained fresh odium by these new allies, without reaping much real service from them.

Henry and du Guesclin, having no longer the superior genius and fortune of the Black Prince to encounter, gained a complete victory over Pedro, in the neighbourhood of Toledo; who, after 1368 this defeat, retired for safety to a castle, where he was soon besieged by the victors, and, endeavouring to make his escape, was taken prisoner by a French gentleman, named le Begue de Vilaines. Being conducted to this knight's tent, the first object which met his

* It must be observed, however, that by this time the freebooting companies had revolted to the Black Prince.

† All the prisoners taken in this battle would have been put to death, had not the prince of Wales interceded warmly in their behalf with Don Pedro, who was prevailed upon to be reconciled to them, and to publish a general amnesty to all his subjects.

his eyes was the count de Trastamare. It is said that, transported with rage at this sight, he flew, disarmed as he was, upon him, and this brother (so far is the truth) with a poniard he held in his hand, instantly put an end to his life.

Thus perished Don Pedro, at the age of thirty-four; and with him ended the Castillian race. His mortal foe succeeded him in the throne, without any other right than that of murder: and from him descended the kings of Castille, who afterwards reigned in Spain till the sceptre of that kingdom was transferred to the house of Austria, by the marriage of queen Joan of Castille with Philip the Handsome, father to the famous Charles the Fifth.

C H A P. LXVI.

OF FRANCE and ENGLAND, during the
Reign of CHARLES V.

THE policy of Charles V. saved France from ruin; and the necessity of weakening the conquerors, Edward III. and his son the Black Prince, give a shew of justice to his procedure. He took advantage of the father's old age, and the son's ill state of health, who was afflicted with a dropsy, of which he died in 1371. His first step was to sow division between the Black Prince, sovereign of Guienne, and his vassals; he eluded the performance of his treaties, and refused to pay the remainder of his father's ransom, under various plausible pretences. He entered into connection with the king of Navarre, Charles the Bad, who had so many large possessions in France; he likewise stirred up the new king of Scotland, Robert Stuart, against the English; he restored order and regularity in the finances, and made the people contribute to the necessary supplies, without murmuring; in fine, without stirring out of his cabinet, he found
means

means to have as much success as king Edward, who had crossed the sea, and gained such signal victories.

As soon as he perceived all the springs of his political machine well secured, and in readiness for action, he struck one of those bold strokes which might pass for rashness in politics, if not justified by well concerted measures, and a successful issue. He sent a knight and a judge of Toulouse to summon 1369 the Black Prince to appear before him in the court of peers, to give an account of his conduct *.

This was acting as sovereign judge of the conqueror of his father and grandfather, who was still in possession of Guienne, and the circumjacent territories, in absolute sovereignty, by right of conquest, and the most solemn treaty; for he not only summoned the prince as his subject, but an arret of parliament was 1370 likewise issued, confiscating the province of Guienne, and all the places that appertained to the English in France. The custom of those time, was to declare war by an herald at arms; but on this occasion, one of the king's domestic servants was sent to London, to perform the ceremony. A plain proof that Edward was no longer in a situation to be feared.

The

* This step was not taken but at the express desire of the Gascon lords, who were by this time quite alienated from the prince of Wales, on account of the severe impositions he laid upon them; and his flagrant partiality to the English, in the distribution of his favours. But our author is mistaken in saying, the English were now defeated in every battle. So long as the Black Prince remained in that country, the French durst not appear in the field, even when he was reduced to extremity by an incurable distemper. After his return to England, divers advantages were gained over the French by John de Chandos, Sir Hugh de Calverly, Sir Robert Knolles, and other English commanders. True it is, lord Grandison was taken, in consequence of his own imprudence, on the borders of Le Maine; but Bertrand du Guesclin had very little to boast of, until one Owen, a Welsh renegado in the service of France, surprized the person of John de Grailly, Captal de Buche, the great rival of Bertrand du Guesclin. The Captal was conveyed to Paris, and confined to close prison, because he would not engage in the service of France, in violation of his allegiance to the Black Prince, whom he loved to such a degree, that he would not survive him; but broke his heart in confinement soon after the death of Edward.

The irregularity of these proceedings was in some measure dignified by the valour and abilities of Bertrand du Guesclin, now become constable of France, and more especially by the good order which Charles had established throughout his whole kingdom, which proved the truth of this maxim in public affairs, that "where the profit is, there is the glory."

The Black Prince, who was every day declining in his health, was no longer able to take the field: his father could send him but very weak supplies, and the English, who had before been every where victorious, were now beaten on all sides. Bertrand du Guesclin, though he did not obtain such signal victories as those of Cressy and Poitiers, made exactly such a campaign, as that by which in these latter times marechal Turenne gained the character of the greatest general in
1370 Europe. He fell upon the English, settled about Maine and Avignon, defeated all their parties, one after the other, and with his own hand took their general, Grandison, prisoner. He reduced Poitou and Saintonge to the French dominions, and took all the towns belonging to the English, either by force of arms, or intrigues. The very seasons themselves seemed to fight for Charles. A formidable fleet of English ships, which was destined to make a descent upon the coasts of France, were several times put back by contrary winds; and temporary truces, artfully managed, prepared the way for future successes.

Charles V. who, twenty years before, had not money sufficient to pay his guards, now saw himself master of five armies, and a fine fleet. His ships of war insulted the English on their own coasts, landing troops, and ravaging the country, while England, who had now lost her warrior king, sat tame spectatress of these insults. She had now nothing left in France, but the city of Bourdeaux, Calais, and a few other fortified towns.

About this time also, France lost her Ber-
1380 trand du Guesclin. Every one knows what honours his sovereign paid to his memory. He was the first, I think, that had a funeral oration pronounced

pronounced in his praise, and none but himself and marechal Turenne, were ever interred in the church designed for the burying-place of the kings of France. His body was carried to the grave with the same ceremonies as those of crowned heads, and was followed by four princes of the blood: his horses, agreeable to the customs of those times, were presented, in the church, to the bishop who performed the funeral service, who laid his hand upon them, and blessed them. These circumstances are of no further importance, than as they serve to shew the spirit of chivalry, since the regard and veneration paid to great knights, who had rendered themselves famous by their feats in arms, extended even to the horses who fought under them in battle.

Charles V. did not long survive du Guesclin. He is said to have died by a slow poison, which had been given him ten years before, and put a period to his life at the age of forty-four, as if there were any aliments in nature that could deprive people of life at the expiration of a certain time. It is undoubtedly true, that when a poison is not strong enough to produce instant death, it will leave a weakness and languor in the body, the same as every violent disease: but it is far from being true, that it will produce those slow effects which are by the vulgar deemed inevitable. The real poison which dispatched Charles V. was a bad constitution.

No one is ignorant of the wise ordinance published by this prince, wherein the time of a king of France coming of age, was fixed at fourteen. This wise ordinance, which, however, proved insufficient to prevent the subsequent troubles, was enrolled at a bed of justice held in 1374.

Charles was desirous, by this ordinance, to eradicate the antient abuse of private wars between the lords, an abuse which had hitherto passed as a law of the state, and which, as soon as he came to be master, he took care to prohibit, and even forbid the wearing arms; but this was one of those laws which it was impossible at that time to put in execution.

The

The treasures which he amassed during his reign are said to have amounted to the sum of seventeen millions of livres of the money then current. It is certain that he had accumulated great riches, and that all the fruits of his œconomy were dissipated by his brother, the duke of Anjou, in the unfortunate expedition to Naples, of which I have already spoken *.

After the decease of Edward III. the conqueror of France, and of Charles V. the restorer of that kingdom, it was plainly seen, that the superiority of a nation depends wholly upon those who are at the helm of government.

Richard II. son to the Black Prince, succeeded his grandfather Edward III. at the age of eleven; and, some time after, Charles VI. came to the crown of France, at the age of twelve. These two minorities proved both unhappy; but England had the first and greatest reason to complain.

We have seen the frenzy and madness which possessed the peasants of France under king John †, and how cruelly they revenged the state of slavery they had been in, and the miseries they had suffered, upon those gentlemen who had, in fact, been their oppressors. The same madness seized the English; and the war of Rome with the Slaves seemed revived in this country. A tiler * and a priest did as much mischief to England, as the quarrels between the king and parliament are capable of producing in that kingdom. These two incendiaries assembled the people of three counties †, and easily found means to persuade them, that the rich had long enough enjoyed the goods of this world, and that it was now time for the poor to take their revenge. They led them directly to London, plundered a part of the city, and caused the archbishop of Canterbury, and the high-treasurer

* See Chap. LVII.

† See Chap. LXIV.

* M. de Voltaire seems in this place to have mistaken the proper name of the chief of these insurgents, for that of his trade or calling.

† Kent, Essex, and Hertfordshire.

treasurer to be beheaded. It is true, that this madness ended in the deaths of the chiefs, and the total dispersion of the mutineers: but these state-storms, which were become common in Europe, sufficiently shew what kind of government prevailed at that time †. They were as yet unacquainted with the true end of politics, which consists in subjecting all degrees and orders, in a state, to the public good.

It may be also said, that the English at that time did not better understand the limits of their king's prerogatives, nor of the privileges of their parliaments. Richard II. at the age of eighteen, aimed at being despotic, and his subjects wanted to be free. This soon produced a civil war. In other countries, a civil war almost always proves fatal to the malecontents, but in England the king generally smarts for it. Richard, after having maintained a ten years contest with his subjects, about authority, saw himself at length abandoned even by his own party. His cousin, the duke of Lancaster, grandson to the late Edward III. and who had a long time been banished out of the kingdom, returned back with only three ships. Indeed he stood in need of no greater assistance; for, the instant he arrived, the whole nation declared for him; and Richard only requested that they would grant him his life, and a pension for his subsistence.

A parliament was called, in which this prince was solemnly deposed, and confined to the Tower, from whence he sent the duke of Lancaster the ensigns of royalty, together with a writing, 1399 signed by his own hand, in which he acknow-

ledged

† He alludes to the insurrections of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, which were indeed desperate efforts of ignorant plebeians, to emerge from villenage and slavery. Every body knows they were excited to rebellion, by one John Bull, a fanatic priest, who enflamed them with sermons and circular letters, couched in quaint mysterious rhimes, extremely well calculated to work up the minds of ignorant rustics to fury and enthusiasm. Tyler, after having done abundance of mischief, was slain in Smithfield at the head of his rabble, by Walworth, mayor of London, and others. Straw and Bull were afterwards executed as traitors.

ledged himself altogether unqualified to reign, as indeed he was, since mean enough to subscribe such a declaration.

Thus did this one century behold two kings of England, Edward II. and Richard II. the emperor Winceslaus, and pope John XXIII. all four tried, condemned, and deposed, in the most solemn manner, and with all the formalities of justice.

The English parliament, having deposed their king, issued a decree, importing, that, in case of any attempt being made to restore him, he should be adjudged worthy of death. Accordingly, upon the first rising that

was made in his favour, eight ruffians went
1400 and assassinated the unhappy monarch in his prison. But Richard defended his life better than he had done his throne. He wrested a pole-ax from one of the assassins, with which he laid four of the number dead at his feet before he fell himself. The duke of Lancaster now ascended the throne, by the name of Henry IV. during whose reign England neither enjoyed tranquillity, nor was in a capacity to undertake any thing against France: but his son Henry V. brought about the greatest revolution that had happened since the time of Charlemagne.

C H A P. LXVII.

Of King CHARLES VI. of FRANCE, and the invasion of that kingdom by HENRY V. King of ENGLAND.

PART of the care which Charles V. had taken to re-establish France, proved the means of hastening its subversion. The immense treasures he had amassed were dissipated, and the taxes he imposed, had alienated the minds of his people. It has been observed, that this prince expended fifteen hundred marks of gold annually for the maintenance of his household; and his brothers,

brothers, who were regents of the kingdom during the minority of Charles VI. who came to the crown before he was thirteen, expended upwards of seven thousand, and yet that prince was almost in want of common necessities. These minute details are not to be slighted, since they frequently prove the secret springs of ruin in most states, as well as in private families.

Lewis of Anjou, one of the uncles of Charles VI. and the same who had been adopted by Joan I. queen of Naples, not satisfied with having embezzled his pupil's treasure, loaded the people with exactions. Paris, Rouen, and most of the cities rose up in arms; and the same fury, which afterwards raged to the destruction of Paris, in the time of the league in the minority of Lewis XIV. appeared under Charles VI. The public and private punishments inflicted on this occasion, were as cruel as the insurrection had been outrageous. The great papal schism which prevailed at that time, and of which we have already treated *, contributed to increase their disorders. The popes of Avignon, who were acknowledged by the French court, completed the impoverishment of this kingdom by all the arts which avarice could invent, under the disguise of religion. The people, however, flattered themselves, that when the king came of age, he would make amends for all these evils by a more happy government.

He had in person revenged the count of Flanders, his vassal, on the rebellious Flemings, whom the English still continued to support; and took advantage of the troubles which distracted that unhappy island under the reign of Richard II.

He likewise fitted out a fleet of twelve hundred ships, to make a descent upon the English coast. This prodigious number of ships is, by no means incredible; St. Lewis had a much larger fleet. It is true, they were only vessels for transporting the troops over; but the ease with which they equipped these large fleets plainly shews, that they had a much greater quantity of timber for

* See chap. lix.

for building than we have at present, and that they were not deficient in point of industry. The jealousy, which prevailed at that time between the king's uncles, put a stop to the sailing of this fleet; and at last it only served as a proof of the resources France might have been provided with under a good administration, since, notwithstanding the great quantity of money which the duke of Anjou carried out of the kingdom with him in his unhappy expedition to Naples, it was still able to undertake such great enterprises.

At length there seemed to be some respite of the confusions which had perplexed the kingdom. The king set out for Brittany to chastise the duke, of whom France had so much reason to complain; when, unfortunately, at this very juncture, he was seized with a terrible frenzy. This distemper began with a drowiness, followed by a loss of understanding, and ending at length in a fit of madness. When he was first seized with this fit, he killed four men, and continued striking every one about him, till at length, exhausted by these convulsive motions, he fell into a deep lethargy.

I am not in the least surprised, that all France thought him poisoned and bewitched. There have been instances even in this present age, notwithstanding its improvements in knowledge, of popular prejudices altogether as unjust. His brother, the duke of Orleans, had married Valentina of Milan; and she was accused of having been the cause of the king's misfortune, which proves that the French, who were at that time very ignorant, thought the Italians had more knowledge than themselves. This suspicion was some time afterwards increased by an adventure entirely agreeable to the rudeness of those times.

There was a masquerade at court, in which
 1393 the king appeared in the dress of a satyr, dragging four other satyrs after him in chains. Their dresses were made of linen, daubed over with rosin, to which they had fastened cords of flax and hemp. The duke of Orleans unfortunately thrust his torch against one of those habits, which took fire in an instant. The four lords, who were the four satyrs in the masque, were

were burnt, and the king's life was with great difficulty preserved by the happy presence of mind of his sister-in-law, the duchess of Berry, who wrapped him all over in her mantua. This accident caused a return of one of his fits; from which he might probably have been relieved by immediate bleeding, bathing, and a proper regimen; but, instead of that, they sent for a forcerer from Montpelier. The forcerer came; and the king appeared a little better, which was instantly ascribed to the power of magic. But, by frequent relapses, the disorder was rendered so inveterate as to become incurable. To compleat the misfortunes of France, the king had some intervals of sanity, otherwise they might have provided for the government of the kingdom; thus the little share of reason he enjoyed proved more fatal than even his fits: the estates were never assembled, nor was the least regulation made in the public administration. The king still continued king, entrusting his despised authority and the care of his person sometimes to his brother, and at other times to his uncles, the dukes of Burgundy and Berry. It was still a farther addition to the misfortunes of the state, that these princes had very considerable inheritances in the kingdom; in course Paris became the theatre of a civil war, sometimes privately, sometimes openly carried on. Factions prevailed every where, and even the very university pretended to a share in the government.

Every body knows, that John duke of Burgundy caused his cousin, the duke of Orleans, 1407 to be assassinated in the Rue Barbette *. The king had neither understanding nor power enough to bring the aggressor to justice. However, the duke of Burgundy thought it necessary to take out letters of grace, after which he came to court, and triumphed in his crime. He assembled all the princes and grandees; and, in the presence of them all, doctor John Petit not only justified the murder of the duke of Orleans, but likewise established the doctrine of homicide, which he

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founded

* A street in Paris so called.

founded upon the example of those assassinations we read of in the historical books of the holy writ. Thus did this preacher impudently erect into a doctrine what those books only deliver to us as an event, instead of acting agreeable to the duties of his calling, by telling men that a murder related in the holy scripture is as truly detestable, as if it was found in the annals of savages, or in the times of which I am speaking. This evil doctrine was condemned, as we have seen †, at the council of Constance, and has nevertheless been since revived.

It was at this time that the *marechal de Boucicaut* suffered Genoa to be lost, which had put itself under the protection of France. The French were all massacred there, as they had been before in Sicily §. The flower of the nobility, who had gone to signalize themselves in Hungary against the Turkish emperor *Bajazet*, were all cut off in the fatal battle lost by the Christians. But these misfortunes without doors were small in comparison with those which beset the state at home.

Isabella of Bavaria, Charles's queen, had a party in Paris, the duke of Burgundy had his, and the children of the late duke of Orleans had another, which was very considerable. The poor king alone had no party. But what will serve to shew us how considerable the city of Paris was at that time, and what influence it had on the other parts of the kingdom is, that the duke of Burgundy, who to the province of which he bore the title, added all Flanders and Artois, made it the principal object of his ambition to become master of Paris. His faction was called the Burgundians, and that of Orleans went by the name of the Armagnacs, from the count of Armagnac, father-in-law to the duke of Orleans, son to him who had been assassinated in Paris. Whosoever of these two factions had the upper hand never let slip any opportunity of hanging, murdering, or burning all of the opposite party; so that no person was sure of his life for a day together. They fought in the streets, in the houses, in the fields, and in the very churches.

Here

† See chap. lx.

§. See chap. xlix.

Here was a very favourable opportunity for England to recover her antient patrimony in France, as well as those ceded to her by treaties : and Henry V. who was a prince of equal courage and prudence, did not suffer it to pass unnoticed, but negotiated and made preparations for war at the same time. He makes a descent into Normandy with an army of near fifty thousand men, takes Harfleur, and advances into the midst of a country torn in pieces by factions, and unable to resist him ; but three-fourths of his army were carried off by a contagious dysentery. Nevertheless, this great invasion served to unite all parties against the English ; even Burgundy himself, though he had already been treating privately with the king of England, sent five hundred men in arms, with some cross bow-men, to the assistance of his country. All the nobility mounted on horseback, and the commoners marched under their banners : so that the constable d'Albret soon saw himself at the head of sixty thousand fighting men.

The same success, which formerly waited on Edward III. now followed Henry V. but the principal resemblance was in the battle of Agincourt, which was in every respect like that of Crecy. 1415
The English won it almost as soon as it began.

Their tall bows, which were almost the height of a man, and which they made use of with surprising strength and skill, soon determined the victory in their favour ; but they had neither cannons nor fusils, which is another corroborating proof that there were none used at the battle of Crecy. Perhaps these bows are much more formidable weapons. I have seen some of them that would carry farther than a fusil ; and they may be used with much more dispatch, and last longer. However, they are now entirely out of use. It may further be observed, that the gendarmerie of France fought on foot at the battle of Agincourt, and at those of Crecy and Poitiers ; whereas, had they been mounted, they would in all probability have formed an invincible corps. There happened, on this memorable day, a thing most horrible even in war. While the armies

were still engaged, some militia of Picardy came behind the English to plunder their camp; upon which Henry ordered his men to kill all the prisoners they had taken. They were accordingly put to the sword; and after this, the English took fourteen thousand men, whose lives they spared. Seven princes of France were slain this day, together with the constable. Five princes were taken prisoners, and above ten thousand Frenchmen were left on the field of battle.

It would seem that, after so decisive a victory, Henry had nothing to do but to march to Paris, and compleat the conquest of a divided, exhausted, and ruined kingdom. But these very ruins were somewhat fortified; for it is a certain fact, that from this battle of Agincourt, which threw all France into mourning, and which cost the English only three persons of any note, the victors reaped no other fruit than glory. Henry was obliged to return to England, in order to raise money and fresh troops.

The spirit of giddiness and inconstancy,
 1415 which had seized the French nation as well
 as their king, did what the defeat of Agincourt had not been able to do. Two dauphins were already dead, and the third, who was afterwards Charles VII. and at that time was only sixteen years of age, endeavoured to save the remains of this great wreck. The queen, his mother, had extorted letters patent from her husband, by which she was entrusted with the reins of government. She was a covetous and ambitious woman, and greatly addicted to gallantry. The treasure of which she had plundered the kingdom and her husband, she had carefully deposited in several places, particularly in the churches. The dauphin and the Armagnac faction, who had discovered this money, made use of it for the pressing wants of the public. To this affront which she received from her son, the king added another of a more sensible nature. One evening, as he was going to pay a visit to the queen in her own apartment, he met the lord of Bois-bourdon coming out; he instantly ordered him to be apprehended, put to the torture, and afterwards sewn up in a sack,

a sack, and thrown into the Seine *. The queen was directly sent prisoner to Blois, and from thence to Tours, without being suffered to speak with her husband. It was this accident, and not the battle of Agincourt, which placed the crown of France on the king of England's head. The queen implored the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, who embraced this opportunity of establishing his own authority on these new disasters of his country.

The duke released the queen from her confinement at Tours, ravaged the country all the way he marched, and at length concluded a league with the king of England. Without this alliance there would have been no revolution. Henry V. at length assembles an army of twenty-five thousand men, and lands a second time in Normandy. From thence he advances towards Paris, while John, duke of Burgundy, presents himself before the gates of this city, where a poor senseless king remained shut up a prey to every kind of sedition. The duke of Burgundy's faction in one day massacred the constable d'Armagnac, the archbishops of Rheims and Tours, five prelates, the abbot of St. Dennis, and forty magistrates. The queen and the duke of Burgundy made their triumphal entry into Paris in the midst of all this blood and slaughter. The dauphin was obliged to fly beyond the Loire, and Henry V. was already master of all Normandy. And now the king's party, as likewise those of the queen, the duke of 1418 Burgundy, and the dauphin, were all in treaty at the same time with the king of England; treachery and dissimulation were equal on all sides. The young dauphin, who was at that time governed by Tanguy du Chastel, at length contrived that 1419 unhappy interview with the duke of Burgun-

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dy

* He was suspected of carrying on a criminal commerce with the queen: but he was not thrown into the river until after he had been racked at the Chatelet, and confessed the crime laid to his charge; if that can be called a confession which is extorted by torments.

dy on the bridge of Montereau. Each of them came attended by ten knights; and Tanguy du Chastel slew the duke of Burgundy in the presence of the dauphin: thus was the murder of the duke of Orleans revenged by another murder, which was so much the more detestable, as being accompanied by violation of public faith.

One would be almost tempted to believe, that this murder was not premeditated, so very badly had they taken their measures for supporting the consequences. Philip the Good, the new duke of Burgundy, who succeeded his father, became of course an enemy to the dauphin, through duty as well as politics. The queen, his mother, whom he had incensed, became as implacable as a step-mother; while the king of England, taking advantage of these horrid circumstances, proclaimed, that God led him by the hand to punish the iniquitous French.

Then it was that queen Isabella and the new duke of Burgundy, Philip, concluded a peace with
 1420 Henry at Troyes, which proved more fatal to France, than all the preceding wars had done; and by which they gave Catherine, daughter to Charles VI. in marriage to the king of England, together with France for her dowry.

It was at the same time agreed, that Henry should be acknowledged king, but that he should only bear the title of regent, during the remainder of the unhappy life of the king of France, who was now become altogether childish. In fine, it was determined by the contract, that the person, styling himself dauphin, should be pursued with the utmost vigour. Queen Isabella conducted her wretched husband and her daughter to Troyes, where the marriage was consummated. Henry, now become king of France, made his entry peaceably into Paris, and governed without opposition; while Charles VI. continued shut up with a few domestics in the Hotel de St. Paul, and queen Isabella began already to drink deep of the cup of repentance.

Philip, duke of Burgundy, appeared before the two kings at the Hotel de St. Paul, when the few remaining
 grandees

grandeess of the kingdom were assembled, and solemnly demanded justice for the murder of his father. The procurator-general of Burgundy, Nicholas Raulin, and a doctor of the university of Paris, named John Larcher, prefer articles of accusation against the dauphin. The first president of Paris, with some few deputies of his body, assisted at this assembly.

The advocate general Marigni made a speech against the dauphin, not as the presumptive heir and defender of the crown, but as against a common assassin. Upon this the parliament summoned the dauphin to appear at the marble table, as it is called. This is a large table, which was used in the time of St. Lewis, for receiving the fines paid for vassalage, at the tower of the Louvre, and which ever after remained as a kind of mark of jurisdiction. But the dauphin not appearing, he was condemned for contumacy*.

It was a very nice and difficult question to decide, whether this court had a power of judging the dauphin, whether the Salic law could be subverted on this occasion, and whether, as no vengeance had been taken for the murder of the duke of Orleans, the death of his murderer could claim revenge. We know that long after this, Philip II. of Spain, caused his own son to be murdered †, and that Cosmo I. duke of Florence put one of his sons to death, who had murdered the other. This fact is undoubtedly true, and Varillas has been very wrongfully accused of falsity in this relation. The

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president

* See chap. lxxvii.

† So say Pierre Matthieu, and several other French authors: but this fact is denied by Cabrera, Colmenares, Ferreras, and all the Spanish historians, as well as Morosini, author of the *Historia della Citta e republica di Venetia*, who inspected the dispatches of the Venetian minister at the court of Madrid.

Don Carlos, the son of Philip II. having attempted more than once to do violence upon himself, and being deprived of every instrument which he could employ for the purpose of suicide, ate voraciously of every thing that was set before him; and swallowed great quantities of cold water, which occasioned a dysentery that proved mortal. The same imputation of filicide was brought on the same slender foundation against Peter Czar of Muscovy.

president de Thou plainly proves, that he was informed of all the circumstances upon the spot; and in our time Czar Peter the Great, condemned one of his sons to death. Dreadful examples! but in which the son's inheritance was not given away to a foreigner.

The dauphin retired into Anjou, where he led the life of an exile. Henry V. king of France and England, returned to London in order to raise fresh supplies and new troops. It was not the interest of the people of England, who have a strong passion for liberty, that their king should be master of France, as in this case their country would be in danger of becoming a province to a foreign kingdom; and, after draining itself to establish its prince in Paris, would have seen itself reduced to slavery by the forces of that very country which it had conquered, and which its king had in his hands.

However, Henry V. soon returned to Paris with more authority than ever: he had treasures and armies at his command, and was moreover in the prime of his life; from all which it was probable, that the crown of France was likely to be transferred for ever to the house of Lancaster. But death cut short these mighty hopes and successes. Henry was seized with a fistula*. In these days of greater knowledge he might possibly have been cured, but the ignorance of the times was the cause of his death; and he expired at the castle of Vincennes, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. His body

1422 lay in state at St. Denis, as is practised with the kings of France, after which it was carried to England, and deposited at Westminster among the kings of England.

Soon after, Charles VI. who had been suffered, out of compassion, to enjoy the empty title of king, ended his wretched days, after having passed near thirty years in almost continual fits of madness, the unhappiest of kings, and king of the unhappiest people in Europe.

The

* This is a mistake of father Daniel. The English historians agree, that Henry died of a dysentery.

The duke of Bedford, brother to Henry V. was the only person who attended his funeral. There was not one of the great lords present at the ceremony: some of them had been slain at the battle of Agincourt, the remainder were prisoners in England; and the duke of Burgundy would not yield precedency to the duke of Bedford. but he was soon after obliged to give way in every thing, for Bedford was declared regent of France: and Henry VI. son of Henry V. a minor only nine months old, was proclaimed king at Paris, and at London. The city of Paris even sent deputies to London, to take the oath of allegiance to this infant.

C H A P. LXVIII.

OF FRANCE, in the Time of CHARLES VII.

THIS inundation, which overspread France from England, was much the same with that which happened to England from the French, in the time of Lewis VIII. but it was of longer duration, and more violent. Charles VII. had his kingdom to recover inch by inch. He had to fight against the duke of Bedford, who was as absolute as Henry V. and against the duke of Burgundy, now become one of the most powerful princes in Europe, by having annexed Hainault, Brabant, and Holland, to his former domains. Besides, Charles had as much to fear from his friends as his foes; most of them insulting his misfortunes to such a degree, that the count de Richemont, his constable, and brother to the duke of Brittany, caused two of his favourites to be strangled.

We may judge of the deplorable situation to which Charles was reduced, from the necessity he was under of making the silver mark pass for ninety livres, in the places subject to his obedience, instead of a half livre which it was worth in the time of Charlemagne.

He was likewise soon obliged to have recourse to another much stranger expedient, namely, to a miracle. A gentleman upon the frontiers of Lorraine, whose name was Baudricourt, happened to meet with a young servant wench at an inn in the town of Vaucouleurs, whom he thought a fit person to act the character of a female warrior, and a prophetess. Joan d'Arc, (which was the name of this heroine,) and whom the vulgar look upon as a shepherdess, was in fact only a tavern girl: "of a robust make, as Monstrelet says, and who could ride without a saddle, and perform other manly exercises which young maidens are unaccustomed to." She was made to pass for a young shepherdess of eighteen; and yet it is evident from her confession, that she was at that time seven and twenty. She had courage and wit sufficient to engage in this delicate enterprize, which afterwards became an heroic one, and suffered herself to be carried before the king at Bourges, where she was examined by matrons, who took care to find her a virgin, and by certain doctors of the university, and some members of the parliament, who all without hesitation declared her inspired. Whether they were really imposed upon themselves, or that they were crafty enough to give into the project, the vulgar swallowed the bait, and that was sufficient.

The English were at that time besieging 1522 Orleans, Charles's last resource, and were upon the point of making themselves masters of the town, when this amazon in man's dress, directed by able officers, undertakes to throw succours into the town. Previous to her attempt, she harangues the soldiers, as one sent from God, and inspires them with that enthusiastical courage, peculiar to all, who imagine they behold the Deity himself fighting their cause. After this she puts herself at their head, delivers Orleans, beats the English, foretels to Charles, that she will see him consecrated at Rheims, and fulfils her promise with sword in hand, and assists at the coronation, holding the standard with which she had so bravely fought.

Their

These rapid victories obtained by a girl, with all the appearances of a miracle, and the king's coronation, which conciliated the public respect to his person, had very near restored the lawful prince, and expelled the foreign pretender, when the instrument of all these wonders, Joan d'Arc, was wounded and taken prisoner in defending Compéigne. Such a 1429 person as the Black Prince, would have honoured and respected her courage; but the regent Bedford, thought it necessary to detract from it, in order to revive the drooping spirits of the English. She had pretended to perform a miracle, and Bedford pretended to believe her a witch *.

My principal end is always to observe the spirit of the times, since it is that which directs the great events of the world.

The university of Paris presented a complaint against Joan, accusing her of heresy and witchcraft. Therefore this university either believed what the regent would have it believe; or if it did not believe it, it was guilty of most infamous baseness. This heroine, who was worthy of that miracle, which she had feigned, was tried at Rouen by Cauchon bishop of Beauvois, by five other French bishops, and one English bishop, assisted by a Dominican monk, vicar to the inquisition, and by the doctors to the university; who declared her "a superstitious prophetess of the devil, a blasphemer against God and his saints, and one who had been guilty of numberless errors against the faith of Christ." As such she was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to fast on bread and water. She made a reply to her judges, which, in my opinion, is worthy of eternal memory. Being asked, why she dared to assist at the consecration of Charles as his standard-bearer? "Because, answered she, it is but just, that the person, who shared in the toil, should partake likewise of the honour."

Some

* It appears from the duke of Bedford's letter to the king, written after the siege of Creans was raised, that he actually believed she was an enchantress, inspired by the devil. Had he thought otherwise, he would not at this juncture have propagated a belief, which he must have known would dispirit his army.

Some time after this, being accused of
 1431 having again put on men's cloaths, which had
 been left in her way purposely to tempt her,
 her judges, who certainly had no right to try her, as
 she was a prisoner of war, declared her a relapsed he-
 retic; and, without further ceremony, condemned to
 the flames a person who, for the services she had ren-
 dered her king, would have had altars erected to her in
 those heroic times, when mankind were wont to decree
 such honours to their deliverers. Charles VII.
 1431 afterwards restored her memory with honour,
 which indeed had been sufficiently honoured by her
 punishment.

Cruelty alone is not sufficient to carry men to such
 executions; there must likewise be a certain fanaticism,
 composed of superstition and ignorance, which has been
 the common malady of almost all ages. Some time
 before this, the English had condemned a princess of
 Gloucester † to do penance in St. Paul's church, and
 a female friend of hers was burnt alive, upon pretence
 of certain magic practices against the king's life. They
 had likewise burnt the lord Cobham for an heretic;
 and in Brittany had inflicted the same punishment on
 the marechal de Retz, who was accused of sorcery,
 and with having butchered young children; for the sake
 of making use of their blood in his pretended incanta-
 tions.

In these unhappy times, the communication between
 the provinces was so interrupted, and the people bor-
 dering upon each other were so much strangers, that
 an enterprising woman, a few years after the death of
 the maid of Orleans, had the boldness to assume her
 name in Lorraine, resolutely averring that she had
 escaped the punishment intended her, and that a phan-
 tom had been burnt in her room. But what is more
 strange

† This was Eleonora duchess of Gloucester, the wife of the
 king's uncle, whom the people distinguished by the epithet of *Good
 duke Humphry*. She was decoyed into these practices by the emis-
 saries of the cardinal of Winchester, the uncle and implacable
 enemy of her husband.

strange than all the rest is, that the people believed this idle story. The impostor was loaded with honours and wealth; and a person of the family of Armoises publicly espoused her in 1436, thinking to marry a real heroine, who, though meanly born, was at least upon an equality with him by the grandeur of her actions.

During the war, which was rather tedious than decisive, and the source of many miseries, there happened another event which saved the kingdom of France. The duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, merited this name by at length forgiving the death of his father, and joining with the head of his family against a foreign invader. He even carried this generosity so far as to deliver the duke of Orleans, the son of him who had been assassinated at Paris, from his long confinement in London, by paying his ransom, which is said to have amounted to 300,000 gold crowns, an exaggeration common with the writers of those times. But still this behaviour was a proof of great virtue. There have always been some great souls in the most corrupted times. This prince's virtue, however, did not prevent him from giving a loose to pleasure, and the love of women, which can never be a vice but when it prompts to bad actions. It is this same Philip, who in 1330 instituted the order of the Golden Fleece, in honour of one of his mistresses. He had fifteen bastards, who were all persons of merit. His court was the most brilliant in Europe: and the cities of Antwerp and Bruges, by their extensive commerce, spread plenty over the land. In fine, France was indebted to him for her peace and grandeur, which ever afterwards continued to increase, notwithstanding her many adversities, and her wars domestic and foreign.

Charles VII. recovered his kingdom in much the same manner as Henry IV. conquered it one hundred and fifty years afterwards. Charles indeed had not that noble courage, that quick and active mind, nor that heroic character, which distinguished Henry IV. but, like him, he was frequently obliged to keep fair with his foes as well as with his friends, to fight skirmishes,

to take towns, some by surprize, and some by money, till at length he entered Paris in the same manner as Henry IV. afterwards made his entrance, partly by intrigue and partly by force. They were both declared incapable of wearing the crown, and they both forgave the injuries they had received. They had likewise one weakness common to both, that of neglecting their affairs sometimes to follow the pursuit of their pleasures.

Charles did not make his entry into Paris till the year 1437, and it was not till near 1450 that the English were totally driven out of France. They then retained only Calais and Guines: and for ever lost those vast demesnes which their kings had been possessed of by right of blood, and which they could not secure to their posterity, by the three great victories of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. The divisions in England contributed as much as Charles VII. to the re-union of France; and Henry VI. who had worn the crowns of both kingdoms, and had come to Paris to receive that of France, was dethroned in England by his own relations, restored again, and again dethroned.

Charles, being now in the peaceable possession of France, established such order and regularity in that country as had never been seen there since the decline of the family of Charlemagne. He kept regular companies of 1500 gendarmes. Each of these gendarmes were to serve with six horses, so that every troop was composed of 9000 horsemen. Every captain of an hundred had 1700 livres *per annum*, which comes to about ten thousand livres of our present currency. Each gendarme had 360 livres yearly pay, and each of the five men who accompanied him had four livres of the currency of those times *per month*. He likewise established a body of 45000 archers, who had each the same allowance of four livres *per month*, or about 24 of the present currency. Thus, in time of peace, these troops cost him five millions six hundred thousand livres of our money. Things have changed greatly since that time in Europe. This establishment of archers shews, that the use of musquets was not then much known.

known. This instrument of destruction did not come to be commonly used till the time of Lewis XI.

Besides these troops, who were in constant service, each village maintained a free archer, who was exempted from the king's tax; and it is by this exemption, which otherwise was peculiar to the nobility, that such a number of persons soon claimed the title of gentlemen both by name and arms. The possessors of fiefs were dispensed from the ban, which was now no longer called; there being only an *arriereban**, composed of the *mesnus* vassals, who still remained subject to be called upon on these occasions.

It has been matter of surprize, that, after so many disasters, France should still have continued possessed of such a number of resources, and so much money. But a country, which is rich in natural productions, will be ever so, while the cultivation of it is properly attended to. Civil wars, though they shake the body of the state, do not destroy it; for the murders and ravages, which ruin some families, enrich others: and the merchants become better versed in the arts of commerce, from the necessity there is of making use of art to protect themselves from the general storm. Jacques Coeur is a strong example of this. This man had established the greatest trade that any one private person in Europe had yet embarked in. Cosmo of Medicis is the only one who, since his time, ever equalled him in this respect. Jacques Coeur employed three hundred factors in Italy and the Levant. He lent 200,000 gold crowns to the king, without which he would never have been able to retake Normandy. His industry was more useful during the peace, than either the valour of Dunois †, or the Maid of Orleans, in time of war. It is

* Ban, and *arriere ban*, a proclamation whereby all that held lands of the crown are summoned to serve the king in his wars.

† Otherwise called the bastard of Orleans, as being the natural son of Lewis duke of Orleans, second son of Charles V. His mother was Mariette d'Enguien, the wife of Aubert de Cany, a knight of Picardy. The bastard distinguished himself by his valour and conduct, which in a great measure contributed to the expulsion

is perhaps one of the greatest blots upon the memory of Charles VII. that he suffered so useful a member of community to be persecuted. We know not the reason of this: for indeed who can find out the secret springs of the faults and unjust dealings of men?

The king caused him to be thrown into prison, and he was tried by the parliament. Nothing however could be proved against him, only that he had caused a christian slave, who had betrayed and deserted his Turkish master, to be returned to him again, and had sold arms to the sultan of Egypt. For these two actions, one of which was allowable, and the other strictly virtuous, he was condemned to forfeit all his possessions. On this occasion his clerks gave a proof of greater integrity than the courtiers who caused his ruin: almost all of them joined in assisting him in his disgrace. Jacques Coeur afterwards retired to Cyprus, where he continued to carry on business; and, though recalled, never again ventured to revisit his ungrateful country.

The close of Charles VI's. reign proved happy enough to France, though very unhappy to this prince himself, whose latter days were embittered by the rebellion of his unnatural son, afterwards Lewis XI.

C H A P. LXIX.

OF MANNERS, CUSTOMS, ARTS AND SCIENCES, in the thirteenth and fourteenth Centuries.

WILLING to turn from the repetition of so many miseries and mutual quarrels, the dismal objects of history and the common places of human wickedness; I shall now examine mankind as members of society, enquire into their private lives, and in what manner the arts were cultivated amongst them.

Towards

expulsion of the English from France. He was created count of Dunois and Longueville, appointed great chamberlain of France, and surnamed *the Victorious*.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century, and in the beginning of the fourteenth, it appears to me, that they begun in Italy, notwithstanding the dissentions which prevailed every where, to emerge from that brutality which had in a manner overwhelmed Europe, after the decline of the Roman Empire. The necessary arts had never been entirely lost. The artificers and merchants, whose humble station had protected them from the ambitious fury of the great, were like ants, who dug themselves peaceable and secure habitations, while the eagles and vultures of the world were tearing one another in pieces.

Even in these ages of ignorance, we meet with many useful inventions, which were the fruits of that mechanical genius wherewith nature endows certain men, independent of the helps of philosophy. Thus, for example, the secret of assisting the impaired sight of old people, by those glasses called *besicles*, was the production of the latter part of the thirteenth century. This noble secret was discovered by Alexander Spina*. The mills which work by the help of wind, are likewise of the same date. La Flamma†, who lived in the fourteenth century, is the first writer in whom we find any mention of them. But this was an art known long

* Alexander Spina was a monk of the order of St. Dominic, belonging to the convent of St. Catherine at Pisa. He lived in the thirteenth century, and was so famous for a mechanical turn, that in an antient MS. still preserved in the convent, he is mentioned with this eulogium. "*Quæcunque vidit aut audivit facta scivit et facere. Ocularia ab aliquo prima facta, et communicare nolente, ipse fecit et communicavit.*" Hence it appears he was not the first inventor of spectacles, tho' he deserved all the honour of their invention. That kind which he made were fixed to straps, occasionally tied behind the head, and are known in France by the name *besicles*.

It is a great question among the learned, whether the antients were acquainted with the use of spectacles. The words *Faber ocularius*, and *ocularius*, are found upon some sepulchral marbles.

† This was Galvanus Flamma, or Fiamma, a native of Milan, of which he wrote a history, intituled, *Flos Florum*. He likewise taught philosophy: but his history is in very little reputation, because he adopted all the extravagant fables of the authors from whom it was compiled.

long before both to the Greeks and Arabians, and we find it spoken of by the Arabian poets of the seventh century. Earthen-ware, which then supplied the place of porcelain or china, was invented at Faenza †. The use of glass had been known long before; but that manufacture was scarce, and it was esteemed a kind of luxury to use it. This art was afterwards carried into England by the French in 1180, and was then looked upon as an article of great magnificence.

The Venetians were the only people in the thirteenth century who had the secret of making crystal glass for mirrors. In Italy there were some few clocks which went by wheels; that at Bologna was reckoned the most famous. That miraculous and useful instrument the compass owed its invention entirely to chance, and mankind had not their views sufficiently dilated at that time to make a proper use of this discovery. The invention of paper, made of linen rags beaten and boiled together to a consistence, is of the fourteenth century. The historian, Cortusius of Padua, speaks of one Pax, who established the first paper manufactory in that city, above a century before the invention of printing. In this manner were the useful arts established by degrees, and chiefly by ignorant and illiterate men.

There were few such cities in all Europe as Venice, Genoa, Bologna, Sienna, Pisa, and Florence. Almost all the houses in France, Germany, and England, were covered only with straw †. They were the same in the cities of lesser note in Italy, such as Alexandria de la Paglia, Nicea de la Paglia, &c.

Notwithstanding the vast tracts of uncultivated lands which were wholly covered with wood, they had not yet learnt to secure themselves from the cold by the help of chimneys or stoves, which are in use now-a-days
in

† Faenza, a city of Romagna, in the pope's dominions in Italy, situated on the Amone, famous for its earthen-ware, and its often shifting masters. It is the see of a bishop, and lies 34 miles east of Bologna.

‡ There were brick houses in London as far back as the reign of Alfred.

in all our apartments, and which serve at once for ornament and convenience. A whole family then were wont to seat themselves round an hearth placed in the middle of the room, from whence a long funnel ran up through the top of the roof. La Flamma, a writer of the fourteenth century, complains, like most injudicious authors, that, in his time, frugality and simplicity had given way to luxury and extravagance. He regrets the times of Frederic Barbarossa and Frederic II. when in Milan, the capital of Lombardy, they eat meat only thrice a week. Wine was then a rarity. Tapers were not known, and candles were luxurious ornaments. The better sort of inhabitants, according to him, made use of pieces of dried wood, lighted at the fire. They only eat hot meat three times a week; their shirts were of serge, no linen being then worn but by people of great distinction: and the dowry of a daughter of the most considerable citizen did not exceed at most an hundred livres. "Things, adds he, are greatly changed at present. They now wear linen in common; the women dress themselves in silken stuffs, and some of them are even mixed with gold and silver: they have now 2000 livres to their portion, and even adorn their ears with gold pendants." And yet this luxury, of which la Flamma complains so grievously, was far inferior in some respects to what we now look upon as common necessities for a rich and industrious tradesman.

Table linen was very scarce in England, and wine was sold only by the apothecaries as a cordial. The houses of private persons, both at Paris and London, were all built of wood; for women to ride in a cart in the streets of Paris, which were then scarcely paved, and all covered with mud, was looked upon as an article of luxury, and, as such, forbidden by Philip the Fair. Every one knows the regulation made under the reign of Charles VI. "*Nemo audeat dare præter duo fercula cum potagio* *." Nevertheless, in the houses of
the

* The meaning of the Latin sentence is, That no persons shall give more than two dishes with pottage.

the lords of fiefs, and the principal prelates, there was always as great magnificence as the times could afford. This necessarily spread itself among the possessors of large lands; but the use of silver or gold plate was in a manner wholly unknown in most of the cities. Mussus, who was a native of Lombardy, and wrote in the fourteenth century, mentions silver forks, spoons and cups, as very extravagant articles.

"The master of a family, says he, who has nine or ten people to maintain, with two horses, is obliged to expend near 300 gold florins *per annum*," which was about 3000 livres of our present money.

Money therefore was extremely scarce in most parts of Italy, and still more so in France, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The people of Florence and Lombardy, who alone carried on the trade with France and England, and the Jews, who were their brokers, had twenty *per cent. per annum*, for the common interest of their money. Excessive usury is an infallible sign of public poverty.

King Charles V. amassed considerable riches by his good œconomy, and the prudent management of his demesnes (which were then the only revenues of our kings) and by the imposts which had been devised under Philip of Valois; which, though trivial in themselves, caused great murmurings among an indigent people. His minister cardinal de Grange had grown too rich. But all these treasures were dispersed in other countries. The cardinal carried his to Avignon, and the duke of Anjou, brother to Charles V. dissipated that prince's money in his unfortunate expedition into Italy, and France remained miserably poor till the latter end of the reign of Charles VII.

But it was not thus in the beautiful and trading cities of Italy. There the people lived in affluence and ease. With them alone the sweets of life seemed to have taken up their residence, and riches and liberty inspired their genius, and elevated their courage.

The Italian tongue was not yet formed in the reign of Frederic II. as we may perceive by some verses of that emperor, which are the last remains we have of the

the Roman tongue freed from the harshness of the German.

*Plas me el cavalier Frances
E la donna Catalana
E L' ovrar Genoes
E la danza Trevisana
E lou cantar Provenzales
Las man e cara d' Angles
E lou donzel de Toscana.*

I am pleas'd with the French cavalier,
And the Catalonian dame,
And the workmanship of Genoa,
And the dancing of Trevisa,
And the poetry of Provence,
The hands and face of an Englishman,
And the damsels of Tuscany.

These remains are more precious than may perhaps be imagined; and infinitely surpass all the rubbish of the middle age, which is so greedily sought after by those of an ignorant and tasteless curiosity, as they prove beyond contradiction, that nature has ever been the same in all the nations of which Frederic speaks. The women of Catalonia are now, as in his time, the handsomest in Spain. The French gentry have the same martial air for which they were then famous. The English are still commonly known for the nobleness and regularity of their features, and the whiteness of their hands. The young women of Tuscany are still more agreeable than in any other country. The Genoese have preserved their industry: and the inhabitants of Provence, their taste for poetry and music. It was in Provence and Languedoc that the Roman language first received its polish. The Provençals were masters to the Italians; and nothing is better known to the virtuosi in these researches, than the following verses, made on the people called Vaudois, in the year 1100.

Que

*Que non volia maudir, ne jura, ne mentir,
N'occir, ne avoutrar, ne prenre de altrui,
Ne s' avengear deli suo enemi,
Loz dison qu' es Vaudes, & los feson morir.*

When a man will neither curse, nor swear, nor lie,
Nor slay, nor rob, nor mount his neighbour's bed,
Nor take fell vengeance of his enemy,
They hold him a Vaudois, and take his life.

This quotation has likewise its use, inasmuch as it is a proof, that the reformers of all times have affected a severity of manners.

This jargon unhappily continued to be used, such as it was spoken in Provence and Languedoc, till the Italian language, under the pen of Petrarch, received that force and elegance, which, far from degenerating, still acquired greater perfection. The Italian took its first form towards the end of the thirteenth century, in the reign of good king Roger, father to the unfortunate Joan of Naples. Dantè, the Florentine poet, had already adorned the Tuscan tongue by his poem called Comedy; which, though a whimsical performance, is full of many striking and natural beauties. In this work the author raised himself above the bad taste of his times, and his subject; and we may every where find in it passages, written in all the purity and elegance of the latter times of Ariosto and Tasso. We cannot wonder

|| Petrarch, Dantè, Ariosto, Tasso.

These are the most celebrated writers that modern Italy had produced. *Francisco Petrarca* was born at Arezzo in the beginning of the fourteenth century. He acquired such reputation by his poetry, that while he led a retired life in the valley of Vaucluse in the neighbourhood of Avignon, he, on the very same day, received letters of invitation from the chancellor of the university of Paris, and the senate of Rome, desiring he would come and receive the crown of poetry at each of these great theatres of learning. He preferred the request of the Romans; and, going to Rome, was crowned in the Capitol. It was the singular good fortune of this writer, to be esteemed and courted by all the princes of his time.

Dantè Aligheri was born at Florence, and flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. He composed a variety of poems,
and

wonder that the author, who was one of the chiefs of the Gibelline faction, and was severely persecuted by pope Boniface VIII. and Charles of Valois, has in several parts of his poem, given vent to the concern he felt for the quarrels between the empire and the pontificate. Permit me in this place to insert a weak translation of one of the passages

and was greatly admired for the force of his genius, and the purity of his stile.

Ludovico Ariosto, born at Reggio, immortalized himself by his poem intituled *Orlando Furioso*. He likewise wrote some satires and comedies that have a considerable share of merit; but his masterpiece, *Orlando*, is preferred all over Italy to every other poem which that language has produced, being recited, and even sung by all ranks of people. Ariosto died in the year 1533.

Torquato Tasso, descended from the illustrious family of the *Torregiani*, lords of Bergamo, and several other places, was born at that town in the year 1544. His genius and capacity began to shew themselves even in his tender infancy. He was certainly an excellent scholar, a theologist, philosopher, rhetorician, critic, and, in all sorts of poetry, infinitely superior to all his cotemporaries. He was also endued with every virtue of the heart; modest, courteous, brave, and generous. His epic poem intituled *Gierusalemme liberata*, is universally admired, and, by some critics, even preferred to Virgil's *Æneis*. Balzac says, that, if Virgil had never appeared, Tasso would have been the first poet; and that, if Tasso had not appeared, Virgil would have been the only poet. Boileau, who was rather a better critic, had not such a great opinion of Tasso, if he spoke his real sentiments in this line:

Et le clinquant du Tasse à tout l'or de Virgile.

If the former was too high a compliment, this, we apprehend, is too severe a censure. Certain it is, that in the beginning of the seventeenth century, all the wits of Italy were divided about the poetical merits of Ariosto and Tasso, and the academy della Crusca decided in favour of the former. It is very remarkable that, although Tasso was caressed by the duke of Ferrara, the cardinal d'Este, Charles IX. of France, and many other persons of the first distinction; though his works were held in universal admiration; and he was invited to receive the laurel at Rome; he laboured under extreme poverty; insomuch that he wrote a beautiful sonnet, addressed to his cat, desiring that she would lend him her eyes, that he might see in the dark: *non havendo candele la notte par escrivere i suoi versi*, not having a candle, by the light of which he could write his verses in the night. Besides the *Jerusalem*, he wrote the poem of *Rinaldo*, some tragedies, and an infinity of other works, and died at Rome in the fifty-first year of his age.

passages in Dantè, relating to these dissensions. These monuments of the human mind serve to amuse us after a long and painful attention to the miseries which have distracted the earth.

*Jadis on vit dans une paix profonde
De deux Soleils les flambeaux luire au monde,
Qui sans se nuire éclairant les humaines,
Du vrai devoir enseignaient les chemins,
Et nous montraient de l' Aigle Impériale,
Et de l'agneau les droits & l'intervale.
Ce tems n'est plus, & nos Cieux ont changé.
L'un des Soleils de vapeurs surchargé,
En s'échappant de sa sainte carrière,
Voulut de l'autre absorber la lumière.
La règle alors devint confusion ;
Et l'humble agneau parut un fier lion,
Qui tout brillant de la pourpre usurpée
Voulut porter la houlette & l'épée.*

Of old, two suns were seen to blaze
In peace profound with genial rays ;
On man's bewilder'd race to shine,
And point the paths to truth divine ;
Th' imperial eagle's rights to shew,
And bring the lamb's just claims to view.
Those skies serene are now no more :
One sun furcharg'd with vapours hoar,
Launch'd from his sphere eccentric gleams,
And strives to drink the other's beams.
Wild anarchy her empire rears ;
A lion fierce the lamb appears,
In robes usurp'd a tyrant lord
To wield the crozier and the sword.

To Dantè succeeded Petrarch, born in the year 1304, in Arezzo, the country of the famous Guido Âretin ; this poet rendered the Italian tongue more pure, and gave it all the sweetness of which it was susceptible. In these two poets, and especially in the latter, we meet with a great number of strokes which resemble the
beautiful

beautiful works of the antients, and have at once all the vigour of antiquity and the freshness of novelty. It may appear rash in me to pretend to imitate this excellent poet, but you will forgive my presumption, for the desire I have to make you acquainted as much as possible with the nature of his stile. Here follows nearly the beginning of his beautiful ode to the Fountain of Vaucluse, which is indeed irregular, and composed by him in blank verse, to avoid the constraint of rhyme, but which nevertheless is more esteemed than those of his pieces which are in rhyme.

*Claire fontaine, onde aimable, onde pure,
Où la beauté qui consume mon cœur ;
Seule beauté qui soit dans la nature,
Des feux du jour évitait la chaleur ;
Arbre heureux dont le feuillage
Agité par les zephirs
La couvrit de son ombrage,
Qui rapelles mes soupirs,
En rapellant son image,
Ornemens de ces bords & filles du matin,
Vous dont je suis jaloux, vous moins brillantes qu'elle,
Fleurs qu'elle embellissait quand vous touchiez son sein,
Rossignals dont la voix est moins douce & moins belle,
Air devenu plus pur, adorable séjour
Immortalisé par ses charmes,
Lieux dangereux & chers, où de ses tendres armes
L'amour a blessé tous mes sens ;
Écoutez mes derniers accens,
Recevez mes derniers larmes.*

Pure fountain, by whose purling stream,
That beauty, mistress of my heart,
Whom nature form'd above the reach of art,
Avoids at noon the sultry beam ;
O happy tree, whose foliage made,
When fann'd by Zephyr's wing,
For her a cool, refreshing shade,
Ye scenes that her ador'd idea bring,
And wake the sigh that struggles while I sing ;

Ye gorgeous daughters of the dewy morn,
 Who, though less fair than she, these meads adorn,
 Sweet flowrets, oft beheld with jealous eye,
 While borrowing fragrance on her breast you lie ;
 Ye nightingales whose warbled strain
 Would emulate her song in vain ;
 Ye breezes that more salutary play,
 As o'er her charms with feather'd foot you stray ;
 O blest retreat, that ages shall revere !
 O plain so dreaded, yet so dear !
 Where love, with his all-piercing dart,
 First triumph'd o'er my captive heart ;
 Receive these tears, these notes by sorrow sung,
 While death's cold accents tremble on my tongue.

These little poems, which are stiled Canzoni, are esteemed his master-pieces, his other works having procured him much less honour : here he has immortalized the Fountain of Vaucluse, his mistress Laura, and himself. Had he never loved, he would never have been so well known. However imperfect the above imitation may be, it serves to shew the immense superiority the Italians had over other nations, and I thought it much better to give you this slight idea of Petrarch's genius, and of that sweetness and melting elegance which so much distinguish his writings, than to trouble you with a repetition of what so many writers have already related of the honours offered him at Paris, of those conferred on him at Rome, and of his triumph in the Capitol in 1341, where he received that famous homage which the admiration of his contemporaries paid to a genius then unparalleled, but which was afterwards surpassed by that of Ariosto and Tasso. I shall not however pass over unobserved that his family were banished from Tuscany, and their estates confiscated, during the dissensions between the Guelphs and Gibellines ; and that the people of Florence deputed Boccace to request him in their name, to come and honour his native country with his presence, and enjoy the restitution of his patrimony. Greece, in her brightest ages, never gave nobler proofs of a taste and esteem for great talents.

This

This Boccace fixed the Tuscan language, and is still the best model for exactness and purity of style, in prose, as well as for the natural and the narrative. The Italian tongue, thus rendered perfect by these two writers, underwent no farther alteration, whilst all the other people of Europe, even the Greeks themselves, have changed their idiom.

After this there followed an uninterrupted succession of Italian poets, whose works have been all transmitted to posterity. Pulci wrote after Petrarch; Bayardo*, count of Scandiano, succeeded Pulci; and Ariosto surpassed them all by the fruitfulness of his imagination. Let us not forget that Petrarch and Boccace celebrated the unfortunate Joan of Naples, whose cultivated mind was sensible of their merit, and who was herself one of their scholars. She was at that time entirely devoted to the polite arts, and forgot in their bosom the crimes which had embittered the moments of her first marriage; and the change, which was wrought in her manners by the cultivation of her mind, ought to have saved her from the tragical end which afterwards befel her.

The polite arts, which are as it were linked hand in hand, and generally sink and rise again together, first began in Italy to emerge from barbarism. Cimabue†, without any assistance, became anew the inventor of painting in the thirteenth century. Giotto‡ drew

L 2

pictures

* He wrote the poem called Orlando, upon which the plan of Ariosto's Orlando Furioso was founded: it was modernized by Berni.

† Cimabue was a Florentine, who flourished in the thirteenth century, so much esteemed for his painting, that Charles I. of Naples visited him at his house in the suburbs, which, from the great concourse of noblemen and others that attended him on this occasion, acquired the name of *Il Borgo Allegro*.

‡ He was originally a shepherd's boy, whom Cimabue found by accident in the fields, making designs with charcoal on a brick. He became one of that painter's pupils, and in the sequel acquired great reputation; was patronized by pope Benedict XI. maintained an intimacy with Dantè, and has been celebrated by Petrarch. When the pope desired to see some designs of the Florentine painters, Giotto sent him a circle traced with his pencil, so beautiful and perfect, that it gave rise to the Italian proverb, *Tu se*

pictures which are yet beheld with pleasure. There is one piece in particular remaining of this famous painter, and which has since been copied in Mosaic work, and represents the favourite apostle walking upon the waters: it is to be seen over the great door in St. Peter's at Rome. Brunelleschi began to reform the Gothic architecture, and Guido of Arezzo || had long before, namely, about the end of the eleventh century, invented notes for music, by which he rendered that art more easy and generally known.

We are indebted for all these beautiful and new inventions to the Italians alone. They called them all into life again by the sole strength of their genius, before the little science which was left in Constantinople had ebbed back into Italy with the Greek language, after the Ottoman conquests. Florence was at that time a new Athens, and, among the orators who were sent from the Italian cities to compliment pope Boniface VIII. on his exaltation to the papal chair, there were no less than eight natives of Florence. By this we may perceive, that we do not owe the revival of the polite arts to those who fled into Italy from Constantinople, since these fugitives could at most but teach the Italians the Greek language.

It may appear astonishing that so many great geniuses should have arisen in Italy, in the midst of dissensions and civil wars, and equally destitute of protection and of models. But let it be remembered, that, among the Romans, Lucretius wrote his beautiful poem upon natural

se piu tondo che l' O di Giotto; literally, Thou art rounder than Giotto's circle. But, as *tondo* likewise signifies *foolish*; this adage is used as a comparison of reproach. The piece mentioned by our author, is called *La nave del Giotto*.

|| Otherwise Guido Aretinus, was a Benedictine monk, who invented the six notes of music, *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, being the initial letters of these words in the hymn of St. John:

<i>Ut queunt laxis,</i>	<i>Famuli tuorum,</i>
<i>Resonare fibris,</i>	<i>Solve polluti,</i>
<i>Mira gestorum,</i>	<i>Labii reatum,</i>

He wrote two treatises on music, and lived in the eleventh century.

tural history, Virgil his *Bucolics*, and Cicero his books of philosophy, in the midst of all the horrors of civil wars. When once a language begins to take a form, it becomes an instrument which great artists find ready prepared to their hands, and which they employ without concerning themselves about who governs or disturbs the world.

But although this light seems to have shone only in Italy, yet there were not wanting some persons of talents in other countries. St. Bernard and Abelard, who lived in France in the twelfth century, may be considered as men of great genius, but their language was a barbarous jargon, and their Latin was a tribute which they paid to the bad taste of the times. The Latin hymns in rhyme, which were composed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are the very quintessence of barbarism. It was not thus that Horace sung the secular games. The scholastic divinity of those times, which was the bastard offspring of the Aristotelian philosophy, badly translated, and as ill understood, did more injury to understanding and the polite studies, than ever the Huns and Vandals had done.

The polite arts were kept alive in the East, and since the poems of the Persian writer Sady, are still in the mouths of Persians, Turks, and Arabians, they must certainly have had some merit. This writer was contemporary with Petrarch, and equal to him in reputation. It is certain, that, in general, good taste was far from being prevalent among the Orientals. Their works resemble the titles of their monarchs, full of high-sounding epithets. The spirit of slavery and subjection appears to be naturally dastardly, as that of liberty is nervous, and true greatness simple. The Orientals have no delicacy, because their women are excluded from society. They have no order or method, because every one gives a loose to his imagination in that solitude in which they pass the greater part of their lives, and the imagination of itself is always unruly. They have likewise been always strangers to true eloquence, such as that of Cicero and Demosthenes. For whom has an eastern orator to persuade? A set of slaves. And

they have several bright gleams of scientific light : they paint in speech ; and although their figures are frequently gigantic and incoherent, they still partake somewhat of the sublime. You may perhaps not be displeased to see again in this place a passage from Sady, which I formerly translated into blank verse, and which bears a strong resemblance to some passages in the Hebrew poets. It is a description of the power of God, a common-place subject without doubt, but which may serve to give you an idea of the Persian genius.

*Il sait distinctement ce qui ne fut jamais.
De ce qu'on n'entend point son oreille est remplie.
Prince, il n'a pas besoin qu'on le serve à genoux.
Juge, il n'a pas besoin que sa Loi soit écrite.
De l'Eternel burin de sa prévision
Il a tracé nos traits dans le sein de nos mères.
De l'aurore au couchant il porte le Soleil,
Il sème de rubis les masses des montagnes.
Il prend deux gouttes d'eau ; de l'une il fait un homme,
De l'autre il arrondit la perle au fond des mers.
L'être au son de sa voix fut tiré du néant.
Qu'il parle, & dans l'instant l'Univers va rentrer
Dans les immensités de l'espace & du vuide ;
Qu'il parle, l'Univers repasse en un clin d'œil
Des abîmes du rien dans les plaines de l'être.*

He knows distinctly what is yet to come.
His ear is fill'd with sounds as yet unform'd.
Sov'reign of all, he asks no bended knee.
Immortal judge, he needs no written law.
By the eternal fullness of his foresight,
As with a ready pencil, he has trac'd
The infant-features in the mother's womb.
By him conducted through his bright career,
Safely the sun journeys from east to west.
He sows the flinty bosoms of the hills
With the rich ruby, and the sapphire blue.
Two drops of water, in his plastic hand,
Take different forms, as suit his high behest ;

This

This breathes a man ; that, sinking to the deep,
 Rounds in its oozy bed an orient pearl.
 Creation at his bidding rose to light,
 And shall, if he commands, again retire
 Back to th' immense vacuity of space ;
 Or if he speaks, lo ! quicker than the word,
 Th' obedient universe once more starts forth,
 From deepest chaos, to the realms of being.

If the belles lettres were thus cultivated on the banks of the Tygris and Euphrates, it is a certain proof that the other arts which minister to our pleasures were likewise very well known. The superfluities of life follow only after the knowledge of the necessities : but this was still wanting almost throughout Europe. What did they know in Germany, France, England, Spain, and the northern parts of Lombardy ? Nothing but barbarous and feudal customs equally tumultuous and uncertain, duels, tournaments, scholastic divinity, and magic.

They still celebrated in several churches the festival of the *âs*, and that of the innocents and fools. An *âs* was brought before the altar, and the people sung the following anthem to him : “ Amen, Amen, *Âsine* ; eh, eh, eh, Mr. *Âs* ! eh, eh, eh, Mr. *Âs*.” A company of fools marched at the head of every procession, in plaited gowns, hung round with bells and baubles ; and this fashion is still kept up in some towns of the Low Countries, and in Germany. As to our northern nations, all their literature consisted in certain farces, written and exhibited in the vulgar tongue, with the titles of the Foolish Mother, the Prince of Fools, &c.

Nothing was to be heard, but stories of revelation, people possessed by evil spirits and fascinations : and to such lengths did the prejudices of those times carry men, that Philip III.'s queen being accused of adultery, the king her husband sent to consult a beguine *, to know whether his wife was guilty or innocent. The children of Philip the Fair entered into an association in

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writing,

* Beguines, a sort of nuns.

writing, by which they engaged mutually to defend each other against any one who should attempt to destroy them by magic. There was a decree of parliament, condemning a woman to be burnt for a witch, who was accused of having entered into compact with the devil, in favour of Robert of Artois. The disorder of Charles VI. was attributed to magic, and a supposed conjurer was sent for to cure him. The princess of Gloucester in England, was condemned to do penance in the porch of St. Paul's church; and a baroness † of the same kingdom, her supposed accomplice, was burnt alive for a witch.

If the most considerable personages of the kingdoms of Europe fell victims to these cruelties, which were the offspring of credulity, we may easily suppose what private persons were subject to. But these were slight evils.

In Germany, France, Spain, and even in Italy, except in the large, trading cities, they were entirely destitute of any form of civil government: the walled towns in Germany and France were all sacked during the civil wars: the Greek empire was over-run by the Turks: Spain was still divided between the Christians and the Mahometan Moors, and each side was frequently torn in pieces by its own intestine commotions. At length in the reign of Philip of Valois, Edward III. Lewis of Bavaria, and pope Clement VI. a general plague swept away those who had escaped the sword and the miseries of their country.

Immediately preceding these times of the fourteenth century, our Europe was, as we have already seen, depopulated and impoverished by the crusades. If we go back from these crusades to the times, which followed after the death of Charlemagne, we shall find them not less unhappy, and still more ignorant. The comparison
of

† This baroness was no other than Margery Gurdemain, called by Speed, in his chronicle, a witch of Ey in Suffolk, who was burned in Smithfield. This affair, however, ought not to be imputed to the superstition of the age, but to the malice of the duke of Gloucester's enemies.

of those ages with our own should fill us with a due sense of the happiness we now enjoy, notwithstanding the almost invincible propensity we have to admire, and praise the past at the expence of the present.

But we must not believe that all was alike savage. There were several great examples of virtue in all stations, on the throne, and in the cloister, among the swordsmen and with the priests. But neither a St. Lewis nor a St. Ferdinand could heal the wounds of human-kind. The long dispute between the emperors and the popes, the obstinate stand made by the Roman liberty, against the power of the German Cæsars, and that of the Roman pontiffs, the frequent schisms, and at length the great schism of the West, would not permit those popes, elected in the midst of tumults, to exercise those virtues which more happy and peaceable times might have probably inspired them with; and indeed might it not be possible for the general depravity of manners to extend its influence even to them? Every man is formed by the age he lives in, and few are there who can rise above the manners of the times. The wicked actions which many of the popes were drawn to commit, and the scandalous lives they led upon the authority of general example, are things which can never be buried in oblivion. But of what service is it to set forth their vices and their disasters? To shew how happy Rome has been, since decency and tranquillity have reigned within her walls; and what more desirable fruit can we reap from all the vicissitudes we meet with in this general history than the conviction, that every nation has always been unhappy, till the laws and the legislative power were established by universal consent.

In like manner as some few monarchs and pontiffs, worthy of better times, could not stop the general torrent of disorder; so neither could a few fine geniuses born in the darkness of the northern nations, allure to those climates the arts and sciences.

Charles V. king of France, who made a collection of above nine hundred volumes, at least a century before the Vatican library was founded by Nicholas V. in vain endeavoured to encourage learning in his kingdom.

The soil was not yet prepared for bearing those exotic fruits. There has been a collection of some of the wretched productions of those times: this is like collecting a heap of flints from the rubbish of an old house, when we are surrounded by beautiful palaces. Charles was obliged to send to Pisa for an astrologer; and Catherine, the daughter of this astrologer, who wrote in French, pretends that Charles expressed himself thus: "While learning is honoured in this kingdom, it will continue to flourish." But learning was unknown, and taste yet more so; the French having only the advantage of a more shewy outside than other nations.

When Charles of Valois, brother to Philip the Fair, went into Italy, the inhabitants of Lombardy, and even those of Tuscany, took the fashions of the French. These were rather extravagancies than fashions. The coat was laced behind in the same manner as the women's stays now are, with large hanging-down sleeves, and a riding cloak that trailed upon the ground. The French gentlemen, however, gave a certain grace to this odd kind of masquerade, and justified what Frederic II. had said, *Plaz me el cavalier Francez* *. It would, however, have been much better for France, had they understood more of military discipline; the kingdom would not then have fallen a prey to a foreign power, as it did under the reign of Philip of Valois, John, and Charles VI. But how happened it, that the English were so much better versed in martial discipline than their neighbours? Probably because, that being frequently obliged to fight at a distance from their own country, they found they stood in greater need of such knowledge; or rather because they have a more cool and deliberate courage.

CHAP.

* See page 212.

C H A P. LXX.

Infranchisements, Privileges of Towns, general Estates.

FROM the general anarchy of Europe, and the numberless disasters in which it was involved, arose the inestimable blessing of liberty, which has gradually made the imperial and other cities rich and flourishing.

You may already have observed, that in the beginning of the feudal anarchy the cities were almost all peopled with bondmen rather than citizens, as is still the case in Poland, where there are not above three or four cities which have the liberty of holding lands; and the inhabitants all belong to their lord, who has power of life and death over them. It was the same in France and Germany. The emperors began by granting infranchisements to several cities; and as early as the thirteenth century, the cities joined together for their common defence against the lords of castles, who lived upon plunder.

Lewis the Fat, of France, followed this example in the places within his domains, in order to weaken the lords who were up in arms against him. The lords themselves sold freedom, to the small towns which were in their demesnes, for money to support the honour of chivalry in the holy land.

At length, in 1167, pope Alexander III. declared in the name of a council, "That all christians ought to be exempt from servitude." This law is alone sufficient to render his memory dear to the people of all nations; as his endeavours to maintain the liberty of Italy ought to make his name precious to the Italians.

It was in virtue of this law, that a long time afterwards king Lewis Hutin declared in his charters, that all the bondmen then remaining in France should be free;

free; "Because, says he, it is the kingdom of the Franks." He made them indeed pay for this freedom; but could such a blessing be bought too dear?

Nevertheless, mankind were reinstated but by degrees, and with great difficulty, in their natural rights. Lewis Hutin could not oblige the lords his vassals to do that for the subjects of their demesnes, which he had done for his. The husbandmen, and even the burghers remained for a long time a powerful body of men, wholly attached to tillage, as they still are in many provinces in Germany: and it was not till the reign of Charles VII. that servitude was entirely abolished in France, by the weakening of the power of the lords. The English contributed greatly to this happy change, by bringing over with them that spirit of freedom which is their distinguishing character*.

Even before the time of Lewis Hutin, the kings of France had ennobled some citizens. Philip the Bold, son to St. Lewis, ennobled Raoul, commonly called Raoul the Goldsmith; not from his being an artificer, for then his nobility would have been ridiculous, but as being the keeper of the king's money; for cash-keepers were generally called goldsmiths, as they still are in London, where they have retained many of the antient customs of France.

The corporations of towns were first admitted in France into the general assembly of the estates by Philip the Fair, in 1301: these assemblies then held the place of the antient parliaments of the nation, formerly composed of lords and prelates. The third estate gave their advice in the form of a petition, which was presented upon the knee; and the custom is still kept up for the third estate to address the king on one knee, in the same manner as the lawyers do at a bed of justice. The first general assembly of the estates was held to oppose the pretensions of pope Boniface VIII. It must be acknowledged that it was a melancholy circumstance for human nature,

* In that reign the people of England themselves were little better than slaves: the barons only were free.

nature, that there were but two orders in the state, the one composed of the lords of fiefs, who did not make the five thousandth part of the nation; and the other of the clergy, who were still an inferior number, and who from the nature of their holy institution were destined to a superior function, entirely foreign to temporal matters. The body of the nation had been all along reckoned for nothing. This was one of the true causes of the languid state of the kingdom of France, by suppressing of all industry. Had the body of the state in England and Holland been composed only of secular and ecclesiastical barons, those people would never, during the war in 1701, have held the balance of Europe in their own hands.

Philip the Fair, who has been reproached for his malpractices with respect to the coin, his persecution of the knights templars, and perhaps a too bitter animosity to pope Boniface VIII. and his memory, did great service to the nation, in calling the third estate to the general assemblies of France.

The house of commons in England began to be formed about this time, and grew into great credit in 1300. Thus the chaos of government began to be cleared up, almost every where, by the very misfortunes which the feudal government had every where occasioned. But although the people thus resumed their liberties, and the enjoyment of so many privileges, it was a considerable time before they were able to emerge from the barbarism and brutality to which they had been reduced, and which is the consequence of a long state of slavery. They were now indeed free, and were looked upon as men; but still they became neither more civilized nor more industrious. The bloody wars of Edward III. and Henry V. plunged the people of France into a state worse than slavery; and they did not begin to recover themselves again till the reign of Charles VII. The English people were not much happier after the death of Henry V. Those in Germany were in a better situation during the reigns of the emperors Winceslaus and Sigismund, because the imperial cities had then acquired a degree of credit and power.

C H A P. LXXI.

Of T A X E S and C O I N S.

THE third estate was of no other use in the general assembly of the estates, held by Philip of Valois, in 1345, than to give its consent to the first imposition of aids and gabelles: but it is certain, that if the estates had been assembled more frequently in France, they would have acquired more authority; for under the administration of this same Philip of Valois, which became odious, by the bad state of the coin, and greatly discredited by its misfortunes, the estates in 1355 of themselves appointed commissioners from the three orders to collect the monies they had granted the king. Those, who give what they please, and as they please, are certainly sharers in the sovereign authority. It was for this reason that the kings convoked these assemblies as seldom as possible, and only when they could not dispense with it. Thus from the nation being so little accustomed to examine into its wants, its resources, and its strength, the general estates were wanting in that spirit of connection, and the knowledge of business which settled and regular bodies have. Being called together only at long intervals, they were obliged to enquire of each other concerning the laws and customs, instead of proceeding to settle them; and were in a continual state of surprize and uncertainty. The parliaments of England have taken greater prerogatives to themselves, and have established and maintained themselves in the right of being the natural representatives of the nation. This alone may shew us the difference between the two people: both set out upon the same principles, and yet the form of their government is now entirely different. At that time it was exactly the same. The estates of Arragon, those of Hungary, and the German diets have likewise very great privileges.

The

The general states of France, or rather of that part of France, which fought for the lawful sovereign Charles VII. against the usurper Henry V. generously granted their royal master a general tax in 1426, in the very height of the war, and in a time of great scarcity, when they were apprehensive that the lands must have lain uncultivated for want of men. This tax has since become perpetual. The kings before them were wont to live upon their own demesnes: but Charles VII. had lost almost all his; and had it not been for the brave warriors who sacrificed themselves for him and for their country, and for his constable the count de Richemont, by whom he was wholly directed, he must have been lost himself.

Soon afterwards the husbandmen, who had hitherto paid taxes to their lords, whose bondmen they were, now paid this tribute only to the king, whose subjects they were; not but that the kings of France had, even before the time of St. Lewis, raised taxes in the lands belonging to the royal patrimony. We know of the tax of bread and wine paid at first in kind, and afterwards in money. The French term *taille*, (or tax) came from the custom the collectors had of marking upon a small wooden tally the sums paid by the persons assessed; for very few of the common people knew how to write. The very customs of the towns were not in writing; and this same Charles VII. was the first who ordered them to be enrolled in 1454, when he had restored peace and a police to his kingdom, of which it had been so long deprived, and when so long a series of misfortunes had given rise to a new form of government.

Here then I consider in general the fate of the people rather than the revolutions of kingdoms. Mankind should be the chief object of our attention in history; and here it is that every writer ought to say *homo sum*: but most of our historians have busied themselves rather in descriptions of battles.

There was yet another thing which disturbed the public order and tranquillity of Europe, and injured the fortunes of private families; this was the adulteration of the coin. Every lord coined money, and changed at pleasure

pleasure the nominal value and weight ; thus doing himself a lasting prejudice for the sake of a temporary advantage. The necessity of the times had obliged the kings to set this fatal example. I have already remarked, that the gold specie of one part of Europe, and especially of France, had been swallowed up in Asia and Africa in the unfortunate projects of the crusades. It was necessary therefore in a time of need to increase the numerical value of the money. In the time of Charles V. after he had reduced his kingdom to obedience, the livre was worth seven numerical livres ; under Charlemagne it was of the real weight of one pound. The livre of Charles V. then was in fact but the seventh part of the old livre ; therefore the income of a family which consisted in rent-charge, an infeoffment, or dues payable in silver, was by this means reduced to the seventh part of its original value.

We may judge from a still more striking example of the small quantity of money that was circulating in such a kingdom as France. This same Charles V. declared the children of France entitled to an appenage of twelve thousand livres *per ann.* These twelve thousand livres are worth at present no more than twenty-four thousand livres. How poor a provision for a king's son ! The scarcity of specie was equally great in Germany, Spain, and England.

King Edward III. was the first who struck gold coin. Let it be considered that the Romans had no gold coin till six hundred and fifty years after the founding of their republic.

The whole revenues of Henry V. did not amount to more than fifty-six thousand pounds sterling, which is about twelve hundred thousand livres of the present French currency ; yet with this trifling resource did he attempt the conquest of France. Nay, after the battle of Agincourt he was obliged to return to England to borrow money of the city of London, and to put every thing in pledge to raise supplies for carrying on the war. And in fact, his conquests were made rather with the sword than with money.

In Sweden there was in those times no other money than what was made of iron or copper. There was but a very small quantity of silver in Denmark, and that was brought into the country by the trade carried on with Lubec.

In this general scarcity of money, which was severely felt in France after the crusades, king Philip the Fair not only raised the fictitious and ideal price of specie, but he also caused a quantity of bad money to be coined, in which was mixed an over-proportion of alloy. In a word, it was a kind of counterfeit coin; and these proceedings raised seditions among the people, which rendered the nation very unhappy. Philip of Valois went still farther than Philip the Fair; for he made the officers of his mint swear upon the gospels to keep the secret, and enjoined them by an ordinance to impose upon the merchants, "And in such manner that they may not discover that there is any alteration in the weight." These are his own words. But how could he flatter himself that this piece of injustice would remain concealed? and what times were those in which they were forced to have recourse to such artifices! times in which almost all the lords of fiefs since the reign of St. Lewis, had followed the same practices, for which Philip the Fair, and Philip of Valois were so much blamed. The French lords sold the king their right of coinage; but those in Germany have still preserved theirs: this has sometimes given rise to great abuses, but not so universal nor so fatal as those in France.

C H A P. LXXII.

Of the PARLIAMENT, till the Reign of
CHARLES VII.

PHILIP the Fair, who was the cause of so many evils, by adulterating the good coin of St. Lewis, did the state great service in calling to the general assembly

bly of the nation the citizens, who are in fact the body of the nation ; nor did he procure it a less advantage by instituting a sovereign court of judicature to be held at Paris under the name of parliament.

What has been hitherto wrote concerning the origin and nature of the parliament of Paris, affords but very confused ideas of the matter ; because the change of old customs into new, is very apt to escape the attention. One writer will have it, that the courts of inquests and requests exactly represent the courts held by the antient conquerors of Gaul. Another pretends, that the parliament derives its right of judicature wholly from the antient peers, who were the judges of the nation ; and that the parliament is called the court of peers.

Thus much is certain, that there happened a very great change in the French government, under Philip the Fair, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. 1st. The great feudal and aristocratic form of government was gradually undermined in the royal demesnes. 2d. Philip the Fair almost at the same time erected what we call the parliaments of Paris, Toulouse, and Normandy, and the extraordinary courts of Troyes as courts of justice. 3d. The parliament of Paris became the most considerable on account of its large extent of district. 4th. Philip the Fair fixed its seat at Paris. And 5thly, it was made a perpetual court by Philip the Long, and became the trustee and interpreter of the old and new laws, the guardian of the rights of the crown, and the great oracle of the nation.

The king's privy council, the general estates, and the parliament, were three very different things. The general estates were really and truly the antient parliament of the whole nation ; to which were added the deputies of the commons.

The king's privy council was composed of such great officers of the state as he pleased to admit, and particularly of the peers of the kingdom, who were all princes of the blood. And the court of justice, known by the name of parliament, now fixed at Paris, was at first composed of bishops and knights, assisted by others of the

the professed and lay clergy, who had a knowledge of civil matters.

The peers had doubtless a right to sit in that court, as being the original judges of the nation : but even supposing them not to have this right, it would be no less a high court of judicature : in the same manner as the imperial chamber in Germany is an high court, although neither the electors nor the other princes of the empire ever assisted at it ; and as the council of Castile is still a supreme court, although the grandes of Spain have not the privilege of a seat therein.

The parliament is not the same with the antient assemblies, held in the fields in the months of March and May, although it still retains the same name. The peers had indeed a right to assist at those assemblies ; but these peers were not, as in England, the only nobles of the kingdom. They were princes who held their honours from the crown ; and when any new peers were to be made, they could only be taken from amongst these princes. Champagne having ceased to be a peerage, when Philip the Fair got it in dowry with his wife, he erected Brittany and Artois into peerages. Now the sovereigns of these states certainly never came to try causes in the parliament of Paris, although many of the bishops did. This new parliament at its first institution met four times a year. The members of this court were frequently changed, and were paid out of the king's treasury for the seats they vacated.

These parliaments were called sovereign courts, and the president was stiled the sovereign of the body, which signifies no more than the head or chief, as may be proved by the very words of an ordinance made by Philip the Fair, viz. " That no master shall presume to absent himself from the court without the permission of his sovereign." I must here likewise observe, that no one was permitted to plead by proxy, but was to appear before the court in person, unless the king's express dispensation was first obtained.

If the prelates had preserved their right of assisting at the sittings of this perpetual assembly, it would then have become a perpetual assembly of general estates.

The

The bishops were excluded from this assembly by Philip the Long, in 1320. At first they presided in the parliament, and took place of the chancellor. The first layman, who sat as president in this court, by order from the king, in 1320, was a count of Boulogne. The gentlemen of the law had only the title of counsellors till the year 1350. After that, when the civilians became presidents, they wore the knights mantle, had the privileges of nobility, and were frequently stiled *chevaliers ès loix*, or knights at law. But the nobles by name and arms always affected to shew a contempt for this pacific body of nobility. The descendants of professors of the law are to this day excluded from a seat in the chapters of Germany. It is a relic of ancient barbarity to annex a contemptuous idea to the most noble function of humanity, that of distributing justice.

It was in this perpetual parliament, which sat at Paris in St. Lewis's palace, that Charles VI. held, on the twenty-third of December 1420, that famous bed of justice, at which the king of England Henry V. was present, whom on that occasion, Charles stiled his well-beloved son Henry V. hereditary regent of the kingdom; and at the same time the king's own son was called Charles, stiling himself the dauphin; and all the accomplices in the murder of John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, were declared guilty of high treason, and deprived of all right of inheritance, which was in fact condemning the dauphin without naming him.

But what is still more, it is affirmed that in the registers of parliament, in the year 1420 there is an entry, importing that the dauphin, (afterwards Charles VII.) having been previously summoned three times by sound of trumpet to surrender himself in the month of January, had been condemned for contumacy, and adjudged to perpetual exile, from which sentence, adds the register. "He appealed to God and his sword." If this register is authentic, there was an interval of almost a year between this sentence and the holding of the bed of justice, which afterwards confirmed but too strongly this fatal decree. It is, however, not at all surprising that

that they issued such an arrest; for Philip duke of Burgundy, son to the murdered duke, was all powerful in Paris, and the dauphin's mother was become an implacable enemy to her own son; the king had lost his reason, and was in the hand of strangers; and, in short, the dauphin had punished one crime by another still more horrible; for he had caused his relation, John of Burgundy to be assassinated in his own presence, after having drawn him thither upon the faith of the most solemn oaths. We should likewise consider what the temper of the times then were. This same Henry V. king of England and regent of France, had been imprisoned at London, while prince of Wales, by the sole authority of a common judge, whom he had struck in open court while in the execution of his office.

This century likewise furnishes us with another shocking instance of justice, carried even to a degree of horror. A ban of Croatia condemned Elizabeth queen regent of Hungary to be drowned; for being concerned in the murder of Charles de Durazzo, king of Naples.

The sentence of the parliament against the dauphin was of another kind; it was only an instrument acting under a superior power. They did not proceed against John duke of Burgundy till he assassinated the duke of Orleans, and then it was only to revenge the murder of a murderer.

In reading the deplorable history of those times, we are to recollect, that after the famous treaty of Troyes, which gave the kingdom of France to Henry V. of England, there were two parliaments in the kingdom assembled at the same time, as again happened near three hundred years afterwards in the time of the league; but during the subversion of the government under Charles VI. there were two kings, two queens, two parliaments, two universities of Paris, and each side had its *marechals* and great officers of state.

I must observe furthermore, that in these times, when a peer of the kingdom was to be tried, the king was obliged to preside in person at the trial. Charles VII. in the last year of his reign, did in compliance with this custom sit as president of the judges, who condemned
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the duke of Alençon; a custom which afterwards came to be looked upon as derogatory to justice and the royal dignity, since the presence of the sovereign might seem to influence the votes; and that in a criminal affair, that presence, which ought only to be the dispenser of grace and favours, might be obliged to become the inflictor of punishments.

Lastly, I shall remark, that in the trial of a peer, it was necessary, that the whole body of peers should be assembled, as being his natural judges. To these Charles VII. in the affair of the duke of Alençon, added the great officers of the crown. He did still more; for he admitted into this assembly the treasurers of France, and the lay-deputies of the parliament. Thus do all things change; and the history of customs, laws and privileges, is in many countries, and especially in France, only a moving picture.

It is therefore an idle project, and an ungrateful task, to endeavour to refer every thing to antient customs, or to fix that wheel which time is eternally whirling round with an irresistible motion. To what æra must we go back? To that when the word parliament signified an assembly of the leaders of the Franks, who met together on the first day of March, to settle the division of spoils? Or to that in which all the bishops had a right to sit in a court of justice, known also by the name of parliament? Or to the times when the barons held the commons in a state of slavery? To what age, I say, or what laws, must we go back? What custom must we abide by? A citizen of Rome might, with as great certainty, ask the pope for the same consuls, the same tribunes, the same senate, and the same comitiæ; nay, for the very self-same form of government which prevailed in the antient Roman republic; or a citizen of Athens demand of the sultan the ancient Areopagus, and assemblies of the people.

C H A P. LXXIII.

Of the COUNCIL of BASIL, held in the Time of
CHARLES VII.

WHAT the general estates are to kings, such are councils to the popes: but those things which have the nearest resemblance with each other frequently differ the most. In those monarchies where the republican spirit was the most prevalent, the estates never thought themselves superior to their kings; although they may have deposed them in a time of urgent necessity and disorder. The electors, who deposed the emperor Winceflaus, never looked upon themselves as superior to an emperor in possession of the royal authority. The Cortes of Arragon told the king whom they elected, "*Nos que valemus tanto como vos, y que podemos mas que vos*:" but when the king was crowned, they no longer expressed themselves in that manner, nor pretended to be superior to the person, whom they had made master over them †.

But it is not the same with an assembly of bishops of a number of churches equally independent, as it is with the body of a monarchical state. This body has a sovereign, and the churches have only one chief metropolitan. But matters of religion, and the doctrine and discipline of the church, can never be subject to the decision of a single person, in contradiction to the whole world besides. The councils therefore are superior to the popes, in the same sense as the opinions of a thousand

* *i. e.* We who are as good as yourself. and can do more than you. See Chap. LII. Vol. II.

† The states, as representatives of, and trustees for the people, can never exert more power than is vested in them by their constituents, and this is always limited to the preservation of the present Constitution. But in cases of emergency, should it ever become necessary to sacrifice the prince to the preservation of the community, the nation must go back to the first principles of society, and the majority of individuals concur in his deposition.

thousand persons ought to be deemed superior to that of a single one. It remains then to know, whether these councils have the same right of deposing the head of the church, as the diets of Poland and the electors of the Germanic empire have of deposing their sovereign.

This is one of those questions which is to be decided only by the argument *a fortiori*. If, on the one hand, a simple provincial synod has a power of divesting a common bishop of his dignities; by a much stronger reason can the assembly of the whole christian world degrade the bishop of Rome. But again, on the other hand, this bishop is a sovereign prince, and did not receive his dignity from a council: how then can the council pretend to take it from him, especially if his own subjects are satisfied with his administration? It would be in vain for all the bishops of the world to depose from his episcopal function an ecclesiastical elector, with whom the empire and his own electorate were satisfied: he would still continue to be an elector, and enjoy all his rights as such; just as a king, excommunicated by ecclesiastical censure, would, if master in his kingdom, continue to be the sovereign of that kingdom.

The council of Constance deposed the sovereign of Rome; because the people of Rome neither would nor could oppose its proceedings. The council of Basil, which pretended ten years afterwards to follow the same example, gave a proof how little example is to be relied upon, and how greatly affairs, which are seemingly alike, may differ; and also that what may be a great and exemplary boldness at one time, may appear rash and weak at another.

The council of Basil was only a prolongation of several others, proclaimed by pope Martin V. at different times, at Pavia and at Sienna. But as soon as pope Eugenius IV. was elected, in 1431, the fathers began, by declaring, that the pope had neither the right of dissolving their assembly, nor yet of removing its seat; and that he was subject to them, under pain of punishment. Pope Eugenius immediately, upon this declaration, ordered the council to be dissolved. There
seems

seems to have been more zeal than prudence in this precipitate step taken by the fathers, and a zeal that might have had fatal consequences.

The emperor Sigismund, who was then reigning, was not master of the person of Eugenius, as he had been of that of John XXIII. He therefore kept fair at once with both pope and council. This scandalous business was for a long time confined to negotiations, in which both the whole eastern and western churches were made parties. The Greek empire was no longer in a condition to make head against the Turk, without the assistance of the Latin princes. It was necessary therefore for the Greek church, if it was desirous of obtaining this weak support, to submit to that of Rome; but it was far from entertaining such a thought; and the more pressing the danger grew, the more obstinate were the Greeks. But the emperor John Paleologus, who was principally affected by this danger, consented out of policy to that which his clergy refused through obstinacy, and was ready to grant every thing, provided he might but obtain some assistance. He therefore addressed himself, at the same time, to the pope and to the council, who each of them disputed the honour of humbling the Greeks. John sent ambassadors to Basil, where the pope had some partisans of greater abilities than the rest of the fathers. The council had decreed that a sum of money should be sent to the emperor, with a few galleys to bring him over to Italy; and that he should have reception in the city of Basil. The pope's emissaries privately framed another decree, by which it was declared, in the name of the council, that they would receive the emperor in Florence, whither the pope would cause the assembly to be removed: they likewise found means to open the lock of the casket in which the seal of the council was kept, with which they sealed this decree, so opposite to the true one made by the council, to which they signed the names of the fathers. This Italian trick succeeded; and it was plain, that after this the pope would have the advantage in every thing over the council.

This assembly had no chief capable of uniting them, and crushing the pope, as that of Constance had. Neither had it any determinate point in view; but acted with so little prudence, that, in a memorial which the fathers delivered to the Greek ambassadors, they declared, that having already destroyed the heresy of the Hussites, they were now going to destroy the heresy of the Greek church. The pope, on the contrary, was more artful, and managed the negotiation on his side with more address; he breathed nothing but brotherly love and union, and never spoke of the Greeks but in the gentlest terms. Eugenius was a person of great prudence; he had appeased the troubles in Rome, and was become very powerful. He took care to have his galleys ready before those of the council.

The emperor embarked at the pope's expence, taking with him his patriarch, and a few chosen bishops, who were willing to renounce all the tenets of the Greek church for the interest of their country. The pope received them at Ferrara; and the emperor and his bishops, in the midst of their real submission, preserved in appearance the imperial majesty, and the dignity of the Greek church. No one of them kissed the pope's feet; but, after some few altercations about the *filioque processit*, which had for a long time been added by the church of Rome to the ancient homily, the unleavened bread, and the doctrine of purgatory, they conformed to all the Romish tenets.

The pope now removed his council to Ferrara in Florence; and here it was that the deputies of the Greek church admitted the doctrine of purgatory. In this council it was determined, "that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the father and the son by the production of *spiration*; that the father communicates the whole of his divine essence to the son, excepting only his fatherhood; and that the productive power is given to the son from all eternity."

At length the Greek emperor, with his patriarch, and almost all the other prelates, subscribed at Florence to the long disputed point of the primacy of the bishop of Rome.

This

This union of the Latins and Greeks was indeed but transitory. The whole Greek church disowned what had been done ; but still the pope's victory was no less glorious, and never had any pontiff before him the appearance of enjoying so complete a triumph.

At the very time that he was rendering this essential service to the Latins, and putting an end, as far as in him lay, to the schism between the eastern and western churches, he was by the council of Basil deposed from the pontificate, and declared " A rebel, a simonist, a schismatic, a heretic, and guilty 1419 of perjury."

If we judge of this council from this decree, it will appear no better than a company of factious spirits : but if we consider the excellent rules for discipline which it instituted, it will then appear an assembly of the wisest men ; and for this reason, that passion had no part in its regulations, but was confined wholly to the deposition of Eugenius. The most august body, when led away by faction, always commits greater faults than a single person. Charles VII.'s council in France adopted the prudent regulations of this council, and rejected that decree which had been dictated by the spirit of party.

These were the regulations which served to compose the pragmatic sanction, which has been so long the darling of the people of France, that made by St. Lewis being no longer in force. The customs which they had vainly attempted to renew in France were utterly abolished by the address of the Romans. They were now established by this famous pragmatic sanction. The elections made by the clergy, with the approbation of the king, were confirmed ; the custom of annates was declared simony, and reservations and reversions had in execration. But, on the one hand, they never ventured to do all that they might, and, on the other hand they never did what they ought to have done. This celebrated law, by which the liberties of the Gallican church are secured, allows of a final appeal to the pope, who in that case may depute judges to preside in all ecclesiastical causes, which might easily be compromif-

ed by the bishops of the country. This was in some measure acknowledging the pope for master: and at the same time that this pragmatic law confers on him the chief of all prerogatives, it forbids him to make any more than twenty-four cardinals, with just as much reason as the pope would have to limit the number of dukes and peers of France, and grandees of Spain. Thus the whole is a contradiction.

The regulations established by this council also gave rise to the Germanic concordate; but the pragmatic law has been abolished in France, and the Germanic concordate still continues in force, as indeed all the German customs have done. The election of prelates, the investitures of princes, the privileges of towns, rights, rank, and order of precedency, are almost all the same as they originally were. On the contrary, there are none of the customs of Charles VII. now remaining in France.

The council of Basil having in vain deposed a pope, who on account of his worth and abilities continued to be acknowledged by all Europe, afterwards set up in opposition to him a mere phantom. This was Amadeus VIII. duke of Savoy, who was the first of his family who had borne the title of duke, and afterwards turned hermit at Ripaille*, from a motive of devotion which Poggio is far from thinking real. Be that as it may, his devotion could not hold out against the temptation of being made pope. Accordingly he was declared supreme pontiff, though a layman; but that which had occasioned a violent schism, and the most bloody wars in the time of Urban VI. now only produced a few ecclesiastical disputes, bulls, censures, mutual excommunications, and violent invectives: for as the council had called Eugenius simonist, schismatic, heretic, and perjured, Eugenius's secretary returned the abuse, by styling the fathers fools, madmen, and barbarians; and Amadeus, Cerberus and Antichrist. In fine, in the papacy of Nicholas V. this council dispersed gradually

* A little town in Savoy, now famous for its Carthusian monastery, built by this Amadeus, when he laid down the papal dignity.

gradually of itself; and this pope-hermit, duke of Savoy, contented himself with a cardinal's hat, and left the church in its usual tranquillity. 1449

Upon the whole, this council is a proof how greatly affairs change with the times. The fathers of the council of Constance condemned John Hus and Jerome of Prague to the stake, notwithstanding their declaration of not adhering to the doctrine of Wickliff, and the clear explanation they gave of the real presence, merely for persisting in the sentiments of Wickliff relating to the church hierarchy and discipline.

The Hussites, in the time of the council of Basil, went much greater lengths than the founders of their sect had done; Procopius, surnamed the Shaven, the famous general, and successor of John Ziska, came to hold a disputation at this council, at the head of 200 gentlemen of his party. He maintained, among other things, that "monks were an invention of the devil," and thus he offered to prove it: "Can you say, said he, that they were instituted by Jesus Christ?" We cannot, answered Cardinal Julian: "Well then (replied Procopius) it is clear it must have been by the devil." An argument truly worthy of a Bohemian captain in those days. *Æneas Silvius*, who was witness to this scene, says, that they only answered Procopius by a general laugh; the council of Constance answered John Hus and Jerome of Prague by a sentence of death.

We have seen how low the Greek emperors had fallen during this council. They must have been approaching very near to ruin, when they went like beggars to Rome to sue for a feeble support, and sacrificed their religion to obtain it. Accordingly, a few years afterwards, they were wholly subdued by the Turks, who took Constantinople. We shall now enquire into the causes and consequences of this revolution.

C H A P. LXXIV.

The Fall of the GREEK EMPIRE.

THE crusades in depopulating the West opened the breach by which the Turks at length entered into Constantinople; for the chiefs of these expeditions, by usurping the empire of the East, weakened it, and when the Greeks afterwards recovered it from them, it was in a mangled and impoverished condition,

We must not forget that the Greeks recovered their empire in the year 1261; and that Michael Paleologus took it from the Latin usurpers, to deprive his pupil John Lascaris of the crown. We are likewise to recollect, that in those days Charles of Anjou, brother to St. Lewis, invaded Naples and Sicily; and that, had it not been for the affair of the Sicilian Vespers, he would have disputed with the tyrant Paleologus the possession of Constantinople, destined to be a prey to usurpers.

This Michael Paleologus kept fair with the popes, in hopes to avert the storm which threatened him. He flattered them with the submission of the Greek church; but his low politics were not sufficient to counterbalance the spirit of party and superstition which prevailed in his country; and he made himself so odious by his manner of proceeding, that his own son Andronicus, an unhappily bigotted schismatic, either durst not, or would not grant him the rites of Christian burial.

The unhappy Greeks, though pressed on all sides by the Turks and Latins, were taken up with disputing about the transfiguration of Jesus Christ; one half of the empire pretending that the light upon mount Tabor had been from all eternity, and the other half that it had been produced by God, only for the purpose of the transfiguration. In the mean time the Turks were strengthening themselves in Asia Minor, from whence they soon over-ran Thrace.

Ottoman,

Ottoman, from whom all the Osmanlis emperors descended, had fixed the seat of his empire at Byrsa, in Bythinia. Orcan his son advanced as far as the borders of the Propontis, and the emperor John Cantacufenes was glad to give him his daughter in marriage. The nuptials were celebrated at Scutari, over-against Constantinople; soon after which Cantacufenes, finding himself unable to keep the empire which another disputed with him, retired into a monastery. An emperor, father-in-law to a Turkish sultan, and himself a monk, gave a strong presage of the fall of the empire.

The Turks wanted to pass into Europe, but were prevented for want of shipping. But so despicable was the condition of the empire at that time, that the Genoese, for paying a small fine, were suffered to have possession of Galata, which is looked upon as one of the suburbs of Constantinople, and is only separated from it by a canal which forms the port. It is said sultan Amurath, son to this Orcan, engaged the Genoese to transport his soldiers to the other side of the strait. The bargain was concluded; and thus, it is said, did the Genoese, for a few thousand gold besants, betray the empire into the hands of the Infidels; others say, that Amurath only made use of Genoese ships: however, he passed the strait with his army, and advanced to Adrianopolis, where he fixed his quarters, and threatened all Christendom with an invasion. 1357

The emperor, John Paleologus, hastened to Rome, where he kissed the feet of pope Urban V. acknowledged his primacy, and humbled himself in the most abject manner, for the sake of obtaining, through his mediation, those succours which the situation of Europe, and the fatal examples of the crusades, would no longer admit of granting: therefore, after having in vain stooped to the pope, he returned to crouch beneath Amurath. He made a treaty with this sultan, not as a king with a king, but as a slave with his master, and at once served as a lieutenant and hostage to the Turkish conqueror. And after Amurath and this Paleologus had each of them put out 1374
the eyes of his eldest son, of whom they were alike

jealous, Paleologus gave his second son to the sultan; and this son, whose name was Manuel, served in the army of Amurath against the Christians.

Sultan Amurath was the first who gave to the Janissary militia*, which had been instituted before, that form under which it at present subsists. Being assassinated as he was pursuing his victories, he was succeeded by his son Bajazet Ilderim, or Bajazet the Thunderbolt. The infamy and humiliation of the

1389 Greek emperors were now become complete.

Andronicus, the unhappy son of John Paleologus, whom his father had deprived of his sight, fled to Bajazet, and implored his protection against his father, and his brother Manuel. Bajazet gave him four thousand horse; and the Genoese, who were still masters of Galata, furnished him with men and money. Andronicus, thus assisted by the Turks and Genoese, made himself master of Constantinople, and shut his father up in prison.

The father at the end of two years resumed the throne, and built a citadel near Galata, in order to stop the progress of Bajazet, who already began to project the siege of Constantinople. Bajazet upon this commanded him to demolish the citadel, and admit a Turkish *cadi* into the city, as judge of the Turkish merchants who were settled there. This order the emperor complied with. In the mean time Bajazet, leaving Constantinople behind

* It was in the year 1362, in the reign of this Amurath, *alias* Morâd-Can I. that the vizier appointed certain officers at the straits of Kallipolis to seize every fifth captive that should be taken by the sultan's army, in order to constitute a body of troops. These being accordingly selected to a considerable number, were sent to Sheykh Hagi Bektaşh, a Turk, celebrated for his piety and holy life, desiring he would give them a banner, and a name, and pray for their success. For their banner, he bestowed upon them the sleeve of his gown, denominated them *Yengicîberî*, which signifies New Soldiers; and prayed that their countenances might be ever bright, their hands victorious, and their swords keen; that their spears might always hang over the heads of their enemy; and that wheresoever they went, they might return with white faces, *i. e.* good fortune. Their number is forty thousand; and they take rank of all the other Turkish soldiery.

hind him, as a sure prey upon which he could fall again at pleasure, advanced into the midst of Hungary; there he gained a complete victory over the Christian army, and those brave French commanded by Sigismund, emperor of the West. The French, before the battle, put all their Turkish prisoners to the sword; we are not therefore to wonder that Bajazet, after his victory, ordered all the French prisoners he had taken to be likewise put to death, they themselves having set him this cruel example. He reserved only five and twenty knights from the general slaughter, among whom was Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, whom Bajazet thus bespoke while he was receiving his ransom, "I might oblige thee to swear never more to bear arms against me, but I equally despise thy oaths and thy arms."

After this defeat, Manuel, who was become emperor* of the city of Constantinople, went to the several courts of Europe, to petition for assistance, as his father had formerly done. He came to France; but he could not have applied in a less favourable conjuncture for assistance from that court: it was during the phrenzy of Charles VI. when the kingdom was involved in numberless disorders. Manuel remained two whole years at Paris, while the capital of the Christians in the East was blocked up by the Turks, who at length laid siege to it in form, and its ruin seemed inevitable; but it was put off for some time by one of those great events which fill the world with confusion.

The dominion of the Mogul Tartars, of which we have already seen the origin†, extended from the Volga to the frontiers of China, and as far as the river Ganges. Tamerlane, one of the princes of these Tartars, reprieved Constantinople for a time, by turning his arms against Bajazet.

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C H A P.

* He had ascended the imperial throne with the consent of his brother Andronicus, who renounced the purple by way of penance for having rebelled against his father.

† See Chap. xlviii. Vol. II.

C H A P. LXXV.

OF TAMERLANE.

TIMOUR, whom I shall call Tamerlane, in conformity to the general custom, was, according to the best historians, descended from Gengis-Can by the female side. He was born in the year 1357, in the city of Cash, in the territories of the ancient Sogdiana, whither the Greeks formerly penetrated under Alexander the Great, and settled some colonies. It is at present inhabited by the Usbec Tartars. It begins upon the borders of the Gihon or Oxus; which river has its source in Lesser Thibet, about seven hundred leagues from the source of the Tygris and Euphrates. This is the same river Gihon which we find mentioned in the book of Genesis.

At the mention of the city of Cash we are ready to figure to ourselves a desert country. It lies however in the same climate with Naples and Provence, and in a word, is a delightful country.

At the name of Tamerlane, we are again apt to form an idea of a barbarian, little removed from a brute: but let it be remembered, as we have before observed, that there never was a great conqueror among princes, nor in private life any person remarkably fortunate, without that kind of merit which always meets with success for its reward. Now Tamerlane must undoubtedly have had the greater share of the merit peculiar to ambition, who, born without any dominions of his own, subdued more countries than Alexander, and almost as many as Gengis-Can. His first conquest was the city of Balk, the capital of Corassan, on the borders of Persia. After that he subdued the province of Candahar, and reduced all ancient Persia; then returning back again, he conquered the people of Transoxana, and next made himself master of Bagdat. He went to India, which he also subdued, and took possession of Delli, which is its capital. We find, that all those, who have

have made themselves masters of Persia, have in like manner conquered or ravaged India. Thus Darius Ochus reduced it after many others; and after him Alexander, Gengis-Can, and Tamerlane, found it an easy conquest. Shah Nadir in our time only shewed himself there, gave it laws, and brought off immense treasures.

Tamerlane, after having conquered India, returned back and fell upon Syria, whose capital city, Damascus, he took. He then hastened back to Bagdat, which he had lately conquered, and which now attempted to throw off his yoke: he reduced it, and gave it up to plunder and the sword. It is said, that on this occasion above eight hundred thousand inhabitants were put to death. The city was razed to the foundations. In these countries cities were easily destroyed, and as easily rebuilt, the houses being, as we have elsewhere remarked, built only of bricks dried in the sun*. In the midst of this series of victories, it was, that the Greek emperor, after having in vain solicited succours from the Christians, addressed himself at length to the Tartar. Five Mahometan princes, whom Bajazet had driven out of their kingdoms on the borders of the Pontus Euxinus, came at the same time to implore his assistance. Thus invited by Mussulmans and Christians, he marched into Asia Minor.

There is one circumstance which may give us an advantageous idea of Tamerlane's character, which is, that we find him, through the whole course of this war, strictly observant of the laws of nations. Before he commenced hostilities, he sent ambassadors to Bajazet, requiring him to raise the siege of Constantinople, and do justice to the Mussulman princes, whom he had deprived of their kingdoms. Bajazet received these proposals with the utmost rage and contempt; upon which Tamerlane declared war against him, and continued his march. Bajazet immediately raised the siege of Constantinople; and between Cæsarea and 1401 Ancira was fought that great battle, in which

all

* See Vol. I. towards the beginning,

all the forces of the world seemed met together †. Tamerlane's troops must doubtless have been extremely well disciplined; for, after a most obstinate resistance, they conquered those which had defeated the Greeks, the Hungarians, the Germans, the French, and many other warlike nations. We may be almost certain, that on this occasion Tamerlane, who till then had always fought with the bow and the scimitar, made use of cannon against the Ottomans; and that it was him who sent those pieces of ordnance into the Mogul country, which are to be seen there to this day, and on which there are graven certain unintelligible characters. The Turks, on their side, not only made use of cannon, but also of the antient wild-fire. This double advantage would have infallibly given them the victory over Tamerlane, had he not made use of artillery.

Bajazet, in this battle, saw his son Mustapha slain, fighting by his side; and he himself fell captive into the hands of the conqueror, with another of his sons, named Musa, or Moses.

It may not be displeasing to know the consequences of this memorable battle, between two nations which seemed to dispute for the mastery of Europe and Asia, and two mighty conquerors, whose names are still celebrated by posterity; a battle likewise which, for a time, preserved the Greek empire from ruin, and might have contributed to the overthrow of the Turkish power.

The Turkish annals tell us, that Tamerlane shut Bajazet up in an iron cage; but we meet with nothing like this in any of the Persian or Arabian authors who have written the life of Tamerlane. Is this then a story calculated

† Schilperger, who was in the battle, says, the army of Tamerlane amounted to one million, six hundred thousand men; and that the number of Bajazet's did not exceed four hundred thousand. Sharifo'dden, in his history of Timur, says, that when Bajazet was brought to his tent in chains, he received him with great humanity, caused him to sit down, and complained in mild terms of his obstinacy. The prisoner having owned his offence, and asked pardon, Tamerlane gave him a splendid vest in token of reconciliation, and ever after treated him with respect. It does not appear in any historian that Tamerlane used artillery in this battle.

calculated to render the memory of Tamerlane odious? or rather, may we not suppose that the Turkish writers have copied from the Greek historians? The Arabian authors pretend that Tamerlane made Bajazet's queen wait on him at table half-naked; and this has given rise to the received fable, that the Turkish sultans have never married since this insult offered to the wife of their predecessor; a fable which is sufficiently contradicted by the marriage of Amurath II. whom we shall hereafter see espoused to the daughter of a despot of Servia, and by that of Mahomet II. with the daughter of a prince of Turcomania.

It is difficult to reconcile this story of the iron cage, and the brutal insult offered to Bajazet's wife, with that generosity which the Turks ascribe to Tamerlane, who tell us, that when this conqueror had entered into Bursa or Prusa, the capital of the Turkish dominions in Asia, he wrote a letter to Bajazet's son Solyman, which would have done honour even to Alexander himself. In this letter Tamerlane thus expresses himself: "I am desirous to forget that I have been the enemy of Bajazet, and will be a father to his children, provided they will wait the effects of my clemency. I am contented with the conquests I have already gained, and am not to be tempted by the hopes of new favours from the hand of fickle fortune."

Supposing such a letter to have been really written, it was certainly no more than an artifice. The Turks say farther, that Solyman, not hearkening to this generous proposal of Tamerlane, that prince declared Musa, the other son of Bajazet, sultan in Bursa, and that on this occasion he said to him, "Receive the inheritance of thy father; a royal mind knows how to give as well as to conquer kingdoms."

The Oriental historians, as well as ours, frequently put words into the mouths of illustrious personages, which were never spoke by them. This wonderful magnanimity towards the son does but ill agree with the barbarous treatment he is accused of towards the father. All that we can collect for certain, or that merits our attention, is, that this great victory of Tamerlane did
not

not deprive the Turks of a single city: this Musa, whom he made sultan, and whom he protected in opposition to his two brothers, Solyman and Mahomet I. could not, even with his assistance, make head against them: and in the thirteen years civil war, which ensued between the children of Bajazet, Tamerlane does not seem to have gained any great advantage, which, together with the bad success of this new sultan, clearly shews that the Turks were a truly warlike people, who, tho' they might be conquered, were not to be enslaved; and that the Tartar, finding that he could not easily extend his conquests, nor form a settlement in Asia Minor, turned his arms elsewhere.

His pretended magnanimity towards Bajazet's sons, was certainly not the effect of his moderation; for we find him soon afterwards ravaging all Syria, which belonged to the Egyptian Mammelucs. He then repassed the Euphrates, and returned to the city of Samarcand, which he considered as the capital of his vast empire. He had conquered almost as great an extent of territory as Gengis-Can; for, altho' this latter made himself master of a part of China and Corea, Tamerlane was for some time in possession of Syria and a part of Asia Minor, whither Gengis had never been able to penetrate. He was likewise master of almost all Indostan; whereas Gengis had subdued only the northern provinces of that vast empire. While he remained at Samarcand, he meditated the conquest of China, although far from being firmly established in the immense dominions he already possessed, and at an age when his death could not be far distant.

It was in this city that he, like Gengis-Can, received the homage of several princes of Asia, and ambassadors from many sovereigns, particularly from the Greek emperor Manuel, and even from Henry III. king of Castile. On this occasion he gave one of those feasts which resembled the magnificent entertainments given of old by the first kings of Persia. All the different orders of the state, and the several artificers, passed in review before him, each carrying the badge of their profession. He married all his grand-sons and grand-daughters in the
same

same day : at length he died in an extreme old age, after a reign of thirty-six years, happier 1406 with respect to his length of days, and having lived to see his grand children happy, than Alexander, to whom the Orientals are so fond of comparing him ; but otherwise far inferior to the Macedonian, being born in a barbarous nation, and having like Gengis-Can destroyed a multitude of cities without having built one ; whereas Alexander, during the course of a very short life, and in the midst of his rapid conquests built Alexandria and Scanderoon, and rebuilt this very city of Samarcand, which afterwards became the seat of Tamerlane's empire, as likewise a number of other cities in India : he also established several colonies of Greeks beyond the Oxus, sent the astronomical observations of the Babylonians into Greece, and entirely changed the commerce of Asia, Europe, and Africa, making Alexandria the magazine of the universe ; so far then, in my opinion, Alexander surpasses Tamerlane, Gengis, and all the conquerors who have been put in competition with him.

I do not think that Tamerlane was of a more impetuous disposition than Alexander. If I may be permitted to enliven a little the history of these dreadful events, and to mix the little with the great, I shall relate a story which is told by a Persian writer cotemporary with this prince. He says, that a famous Persian poet named Hamedi Kermani, being in the same bath with him and several of his courtiers, and diverting themselves at a game which consisted in setting a certain value upon every one in the company, I should value you at thirty aspers, said he to the great Can. Why, the napkin that I wipe myself with, replied the prince, is worth that. " Yes, returned Hamedi, I reckon the napkin likewise." Perhaps a prince who would suffer these innocent freedoms could not be thought to have a very cruel disposition ; but great conquerors frequently divert themselves with the inferior part of mankind, and destroy others.

Tamerlane

Tamerlane was neither a Mussulman * nor yet of the sect of Lama, but like the learned in China, acknowledged only one God, in which he gave a proof of that good understanding which more civilized nations have been wanting in. We meet with no marks of superstition either in himself or his followers. He alike tolerated the Mussulmans, the Lamians, and the other idolatrous sects which are spread over India. It is even said, that as he passed by Mount Libanus, he assisted at the religious ceremonies of the Maronite monks, who inhabited those mountains. His greatest foible was an attachment to judicial astrology, an error common to all men in those times, and from which we ourselves are but lately freed. He was not learned himself, but he took care to have his grandsons trained up in the knowledge of the sciences. The famous Oulougbeq, who succeeded him in his dominions beyond the Oxus, founded in the city of Samarcand the first academy of sciences: he caused the measure of the earth to be taken, and helped to compose the astronomical tables which bore his name, as king Alphonso of Castile had done near a century before. At present the grandeur of Samarcand is fallen with the sciences; and this country, now occupied by the Usbec Tartars, is sunk again into barbarism, to become, perhaps, more flourishing in future times.

The posterity of Tamerlane still continue to reign in Indostan, which is now called Mogul, a name it has retained from the Mogul Tartars, the followers of Gengis-Can, who preserved their conquests in that country till the time of Tamerlane. Another branch of his race reigned in Persia, till they were driven out by another dynasty of Tartarian princes of the faction of the White Sheep in 1468.

And

* Sharifo'dden expressly says, that when Timur dismissed the ambassadors of Bajazet, who brought him a very insolent message, he expressed his concern that he was constrained to invade the dominions of the Turk, while his forces were employed against the Infidels; and that he afterwards applauded Bajazet for having turned his arms against the enemies of the prophet.

And now, if we reflect that the Turks were also of Tartarian origin, and call to remembrance that Attila was descended from the same people, this will all together confirm what has been already observed *, that the Tartars have made the conquest of almost the whole globe. The reason we have already seen. They had nothing to lose, and were the most robust and hardy of all other nations. But since the Oriental Tartars, after having made a second time the conquest of China in the last century, have formed only one empire of China and eastern Tartary; since the Russian empire is become more extensive and more civilized; and since the earth has been covered with ramparts, and lined with artillery, we are no longer in dread of these prodigious emigrations. The civilized nations are secure from the irruptions of these Barbarians. - All Tartary, excepting China, is now only the receptacle of a number of miserable tribes, who would esteem themselves happy to be conquered in their turn, was it not still more desirable to be free than to be civilized.

C H A P. LXXVI.

Continuation of the History of the TURKS and GREEKS,
till the Taking of CONSTANTINOPLE.

Constantinople was once out of danger by the victory which Tamerlane gained over Bajazet; but the successors of this sultan soon recovered their empire. The chief of Tamerlane's conquests were in Persia, Syria, India, Armenia, and part of Russia. The Turks quickly recovered Asia Minor, and kept all they had conquered in Europe. In those times there must certainly have been a more intimate correspondence, or at least not so great an aversion between the Mahometans and

* See Chap. xlviii. vol. II.

and the Christians as there is at present. John Paleologus made no difficulty to give his daughter in marriage to sultan Orcan; and Amurath II. grandson to Bajazet, and son to Mahomet I. very readily espoused Irene, daughter to a despot of Servia.

Amurath II. was one of those Turkish princes who contributed to raise the grandeur of the Ottoman family; but he was far from being the dupe to that glare and pomp which waited upon the success of his arms. His sole view was to secure a quiet retreat. It was somewhat singular to see a Turkish monarch so much the philosopher as to lay down his crown; yet this he did twice, and as often was in a manner obliged to resume it, at the repeated entreaties of his bashaws and Janissaries.

John Paleologus made a journey to Rome to meet the council, which pope Eugenius IV. had assembled at Florence †. There he held a disputation upon the procession of the Holy Ghost; while the Venetians, who were already masters of one part of Greece, were purchasing Thessalonica, and the Christians and the Mahometans were dividing his empire between them. In the mean time, Amurath made himself master of Thessalonica, almost as soon as the Venetians had purchased it. The Venetians imagined they had sufficiently secured this country, and indeed provided for the defence of all Greece, by a wall eight hundred paces in length, in imitation of that built by the antient Romans in the north of England. This might have been a sufficient defence against the incursions of a savage and undisciplined people, but availed little against the victorious arms of the Turkish militia. In short, they destroyed this wall, and pushed their invasion on all sides, into Greece, Dalmatia, and Hungary.

The Hungarians had raised to their throne, young Ladislaus IV. king of Poland. With this prince, Amurath II. after having prosecuted the war for some years in Hungary, Thrace, and all the adjacent countries, with various success, concluded the most
1444 solemn treaty of peace that had ever been
made between the Christians and Mahometans.

† See Chap. lxxiii. in this vol.

tans. Amurath and Ladislaus took an oath to each other, the one on the alcoran, and the other on the Gospels, by which the Turk on his side promised to push his conquests no farther, and even restored part of what he had taken. By this treaty the limits of the Ottoman possessions were settled, as well as those of the Hungarians and Venetians.

But cardinal Julian Cesarini, the pope's legate in Germany, a man famous for his persecutions of the Hussites, for having been president of the council of Basil at its first sitting, and for the crusade which he preached against the Turks, proved on this occasion, by his blind zeal, the cause of the greatest disgrace and misfortune to the Christians.

The treaty of peace was scarcely ratified, when this cardinal endeavoured to break it. He flattered himself with being able to engage the Venetians and Genoese to assemble a formidable fleet; and that the Greeks, roused from their long lethargy, would make one last effort for the preservation of their liberties. The opportunity was certainly favourable; as it was at this very time that Amurath, relying upon the faith of this treaty, had devoted himself to retirement, and had resigned the government to his son Mahomet, a young and unexperienced prince.

Some pretext, however, was wanting for the violation of this treaty on the side of the Christians. Amurath had observed all the conditions of the peace with an exactness, which left those who infringed it without an excuse. The legate therefore had no other resource left but to persuade Ladislaus, the Hungarians, and Polish chiefs, that it was lawful to violate their oath. For this purpose he harangued and wrote, and assured them that the peace which they had sworn upon the Gospel was of no effect, as having been done contrary to the inclination of the pope. In fact, Eugenius IV. the then pope, wrote himself to Ladislaus, commanding him in express terms, "To break a peace which could not lawfully be made without the knowledge of the holy see." We have already seen that they had introduced the maxim, "That no faith was to be kept with heretics."

tics." It was therefore concluded that no faith was to be kept with Mahometans.

In just the same manner did ancient Rome break her truce with Carthage in the last Punic war. But there was a considerable difference between the two events. The infidelity of the Roman senate was the oppressive act of a conqueror; that of the Christians the effort of an oppressed people to throw off the yoke of usurpers. In fine, Julian prevailed; and all the chiefs suffered themselves to be carried away by the torrent, especially John Corvinus Huniades, the famous Hungarian general, who so frequently engaged Amurath and Mahomet II.

Ladislaus, seduced by false hopes, and a manner of thinking which success alone can justify, invaded the sultan's territories. The janissaries upon this went in a body to beseech Amurath to quit his retirement, and put himself at their head, to which he consented; and the two armies met near the Pontus Euxinus, in that country which is now known by the name of Bulgaria, but was then called Mæsia. The battle was

1444 fought near the city of Varno. Amurath

wore in his bosom the treaty of peace which he had concluded with the Christians, and which they had so lately infringed; and holding it up in the midst of the croud, at a time that he found his troops began to give way, he called aloud upon God, beseeching him to punish the perjured Christians, and revenge the insult offered to the laws of nations. This is what has given rise to the fabulous report, that the peace was sworn upon the eucharist, and the host deposited in the hands of Amurath, and that it was to this host that he addressed himself in the day of battle. Perjury for this time met with the punishment it deserved. The Christians were defeated after an obstinate resistance. King Ladislaus, after receiving a number of wounds, had his head struck off by a janissary, who carried it in triumph through the ranks of the Turkish army; at this fatal fight the rout of the Christians became general.

Amurath, after his victory, caused the body of Ladislaus to be buried in the field of battle, with all military

tary honours. It is even said, that he caused a pillar to be erected on his grave ; with an inscription, which was so far from insulting his memory, that it extolled his courage, and lamented his misfortunes.

Some writers say, that Cardinal Julian, who was present at this battle, endeavouring to cross a river in his flight, was drowned by the weight of gold which he carried about him. Others again say, that he was slain by the Hungarians. It is certain that he perished on that day.

But what is most remarkable is, that Amurath, after having gained this signal victory, betook himself again to solitude ; and a second time abdicated the crown, which he was afterwards obliged to resume, to go forth again to battle, and to conquer.

At length he died in Adrianopolis, leaving the empire to his son Mahomet II. who strove rather to imitate his father's courage than his philosophy. 1451

C H A P. LXXVII.

OF SCANDERBEG.

ANOTHER warrior of no less fame, whom I know not whether to call an Osmanist or Christian, checks the progress of Amurath's arms, and for a long time became a rampart for the Christians against the victories of Mahomet II. The person I mean is Scanderbeg, who was born in Albania, a province of Epirus, a country illustrious in the times we call heroic, and in those truly heroic ages of the Romans. His true name was John Castriot. He was the son of a despot or petty king of that country, that is to say, a vassal prince ; for this is the meaning of the word despot ; and it is surprising that the term despotic † should have been

† Despot and despotic, are both Greek words. Δεσπότης signifies dominus, or lord. Δεσποτικός signifies imperiosus, imperious, so

been applied to great sovereigns who had rendered themselves absolute.

After the death of old Castriot, and several years before the battle of Varno already mentioned, sultan Amurath made himself master of Albania, while this John Castriot, who was the only survivor of four brothers, was yet a child. Amurath had him carefully brought up. The Turkish annals do not make the least mention of the three other princes having been put to death by Amurath; nor does it at all appear, that such barbarity could agree with the character of a sultan, who had twice resigned his crown; and it is as little probable that Amurath should have shewn such tenderness and confidence for a person, from whom he could expect no return but an implacable hatred. He loaded him with favours, and would always have him fight by his side. The young Castriot distinguished himself so greatly in several engagements, that the sultan and the Janissaries gave him the name of Scanderbeg, which signifies Lord Alexander.

At length, friendship getting the better of policy, Amurath entrusted him with the command of a small army against the despot of Servia, who had sided with the Christians, and declared war against the sultan his son-in-law. Scanderbeg, who was at that time barely twenty years of age, conceived the bold design of throwing off subjection, and reigning for himself.

He knew that the secretary, who had the custody of the sultan's signet, was to pass near his camp. He caused him to be seized, loaded him with chains, and compelled him to write, and put the sultan's seal to an order, enjoining the governor of Croia, the capital of Epirus, to deliver the town and citadel to Scanderbeg.

After having dispatched this order, he assassinated the secretary and all those of his train. He then marched with all diligence to Croia, which the governor, without hesitation, delivered up to him.

1443

The same night he caused a body of Albanians,

so that it is not at all strange that they should be used in different acceptations.

ans, with whom he had a private correspondence, to advance, who, entering the city, put the governor and his garrison to the sword, and afterwards assisted Scanderbeg in reducing all Albania. The Albanians are reckoned the best soldiers of those countries; and Scanderbeg knew so well how to manage them, and to take advantage of the situation of that craggy and mountainous country, that, with an handful of troops, he effectually opposed the numerous armies of the Turks.

The Mussulmans look upon him as a perfidious wretch: but, after all, he only deceived his enemies. He recovered the possession of his father's crown, and deserved to wear it for his heroic courage *.

C H A P. LXXVIII.

Of the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE, by the T U R K S.

HAD the Greek emperors acted like Scanderbeg, the empire of the East might still have been preserved. But the same spirit of cruelty, weakness, discord, and superstition, which had shaken it for such a length of time, now hastened its final overthrow.

There were no less than three empires of the East, so called, when in reality there was but one. The city of Constantinople, which was in the hands of the Greeks; Adrianople, the asylum of the Lascaris family, till taken by Amurath I. in 1362, and which has ever since belonged to the sultans; and a barbarous province of the antient Colchis, called Trebisonde, which served for a retreat to the Comneni, was the third reputed empire.

This dismembering of the empire was, as we have already observed, the only considerable effect produced
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* His courage will not atone for his breach of trust, perfidy, and cruelty.

by the crusades. Ravaged as it had been by the Franks, and retaken again by its former masters, only to undergo new desolation, it is surprising that it subsisted so long. There were two parties in Constantinople, bitter enemies to each other on the score of religion, as was nearly the case in Jerusalem, when that city was besieged by Vespasian and Titus. One of these factions was for the emperor, who, through the vain hopes of succours from the Latins, had consented to subject the Greek church to that of Rome. The other was composed of the priests and the people, who, having fresh in their memories the invasion of the crusaders, utterly abhorred the thoughts of an union of the two churches. While these two factions were taken up with their mutual bickerings and controversial disputes, the Turks appeared at their gates.

John VII. surnamed Paleologus, reigned in Constantinople twenty-seven years; and at his death, which happened in 1449, he left the empire in so weak a condition, that one of his sons, called Constantine, was obliged to receive the confirmation of the imperial dignity from the Turkish sultan Amurath II. as from his lord paramount. A brother of this Constantine had Lacædemonia, another Corinth, and a third all that part of Peloponnesus which did not belong to the Venetians.

Such was the situation of the Greeks, when

1451 Mahomet Bouyouck, or the Great, succeeded sultan Amurath, his father, for the second time.

The monkish writers have described this prince as a senseless barbarian, who at one time cut off the head of his supposed mistress Irene, to appease a sedition of the Janissaries; and at another, ordered fourteen of his pages to have their bellies ript open, in order to discover which of them had eaten a melon that was missing. We still find some of these absurd stories in our biographical dictionaries, which have for a long time been little better than alphabetical registers of falsehoods.

All the Turkish annals inform us that Mahomet was one of the best educated princes of his time. What we have already observed concerning his father Amurath, sufficiently

sufficiently proves that he was not likely to neglect the education of a son who was to succeed him in the kingdom. Nor has it ever been denied that Mahomet behaved with filial respect and duty, and without hearkening to the dictates of ambition, in cheerfully yielding the throne to his father Amurath, when desirous of resuming it. He twice returned to the degree of subject from that of king, without shewing the least signs of discontent. This is an action unparalleled in history ; and so much the more extraordinary, as Mahomet to an ambitious spirit added a fiery and impetuous disposition.

He spoke the Greek, Arabian, and Persian languages, understood Latin and designing, and knew as much of geography and mathematics as could be known in those times. He was fond of painting ; and every lover of the liberal arts knows that he sent for the famous Gentili Bellino from Venice, and rewarded him, as Alexander heretofore did Apelles, not only with a pecuniary gratification, but with the indulgence of his private friendship : he presented him with a golden crown and chain, and three thousand gold ducats ; and sent him home loaded with honours. And here I cannot help classing, among the rank of improbable tales, that of the slave whose head Mahomet is said to have cut off, to shew Bellino the action of the skin and muscles in a neck separated from the trunk. These cruelties, though exercised by us upon animals, to answer certain purposes, are never practised by mankind upon one another, unless in the heat of fury and revenge, or agreeable to the law of arms *. Mahomet II. was frequently guilty of cruel and savage actions, like all other conquerors who have ravaged the earth ; but why impute cruelties of so improbable a nature to him ? Or wherefore take delight in multiplying horrid relations ?

He was twenty-two years of age when he ascended the throne of the sultans, and immediately formed the

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design

* We cannot readily conceive our author's meaning in this place : surely the law of arms cannot in any nation authorize the wanton exercise of cruelties or barbarity.

design of placing himself on that of Constantinople, while this wretched city was running into religious factions about using leavened or unleavened bread, or praying in Greek or in Latin.

Mahomet II. began by blocking up the city
 1453 on the side of Europe and Asia. At length, in the beginning of April, he covered the whole adjacent country with his troops, which the exaggerated relations of the writers of those times have made to amount to 300,000, and entered the strait of Propontis with 300 galleys and 200 other smaller vessels.

One of the most extraordinary and best attested facts is the use, which Mahomet made of a part of these vessels. As they could not enter the harbour of Constantinople, by reason of the great chains and booms which the enemy had laid across it, and which, from their advantageous situation, they were able to defend against all attempts; he, in one night's time, covered a space of near two leagues upon the shore with deal planks, besmeared with grease and tallow, and made in the form of a ship's cradle; and with the help of engines, and a prodigious number of men, he drew up eighty galleys, and seventy of the smaller vessels, out of the water, upon these planks, from whence he launched them all into the harbour; and this amazing work was completed in the space of one night, so that the next morning the besieged were surprised with the sight of a large fleet of ships riding in the midst of their port. The same day he caused a bridge of boats to be built across the harbour in their sight, upon which he raised a battery of cannon.

Assuredly Constantinople must have been very deficient in artillery, or the artillery must have been very badly served. Else what prevented the besieged from beating this bridge of boats to pieces with their cannon? And it is rather doubtful what is said of Mahomet's making use of cannon that carried balls of two hundred pounds weight. The conquered always exaggerate matters. It is plain that one of these balls would require near an hundred weight of powder to throw it to
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any distance. Now such a quantity of powder could never be fired all at once, and the ball would be discharged from the cannon before the fifteenth part of the powder could take fire *, consequently it would have very little effect. Perhaps the Turks might, through ignorance, have made use of such cannon, and through a like ignorance, the Greeks might be terrified at the appearance of them.

In the beginning of May, the Turks began to make several assaults upon that city, which thought itself the capital of the world. Constantinople was then very weakly fortified, and not better defended. The emperor, in conjunction with a cardinal of Rome, named Isidore, performed his devotions according to the Romish ritual, which at once exasperated and discouraged his Greek subjects, who would not so much as enter the churches which he frequented, declaring, "They had rather see a Turkish turban in their churches, than a cardinal's hat."

In former times almost all the princes of Christendom, under pretence of an holy war, had joined together to invade this metropolis and bulwark of the Christian world, and now that it was attacked by the enemies to the faith, not one stirred in its defence.

The emperor Frederic III. was neither sufficiently enterprising nor powerful to attempt any thing for its relief. Poland was under too bad an administration. France was but just recovered from the miserable state to which she had been reduced by her wars at home, and those she had been engaged in against the English. England began to be divided and weak. The duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, was indeed a powerful prince, but he had too much understanding to revive the crusades alone, and was too old to bear a share in such enterprises. The Italian princes were engaged in war with each other. The kingdoms of Arragon and Cas-

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* This is not true in fact; if it were, the same would happen in a charge of one pound, as well as in one of a hundred, because the proportion of resistance is the same in both; and we see every day shells of five times that weight discharged from mortars, with the full effect of the powder.

tile were not yet united, and a great part of Spain was still in the possession of the Moors.

In short, there were but two sovereigns in Europe capable of encountering Mahomet II. These were John Huniades, prince of Transilvania, who could hardly defend his own territories; and the famous Scanderbeg, who had enough to do to keep possession of the mountains of Epirus, like Pelagius Tudomer, heretofore in those of Asturias, when the Moors over-ran Spain *. Four Genoese ships, of which one belonged to the emperor Frederic III. were almost all the succours the Christian world could at that time afford Constantinople. This unfortunate city was commanded by a foreigner, whose name was Justiniani, a native of Genoa. An edifice reduced to such props must infallibly fall to ruin. The ancient Greeks never had a Persian for a chief, nor was the Roman republic ever headed by a Gaul. Constantinople therefore must necessarily be taken, and it was so; but in a manner entirely different from that we find related in all our authors, who have copied after Ducas and Calcondilus.

The Turkish annals, collected and digested by the late prince Demetrius Cantemir at Constantinople, inform us, that, after having sustained a siege of seven weeks, the emperor Constantine was at length obliged to capitulate; and that he sent Greek deputies to receive the laws the conqueror should please to impose upon them. Several articles were agreed upon at this meeting: but, as the Greek envoys were returning back to the city, Mahomet, who had something farther to say to them, dispatched a body of men to bring them back to his camp. The besieged, who from the walls beheld a large troop of armed Turks in full pursuit, as they thought, of their deputies, imprudently fired upon them. This party was instantly joined by a much greater number. The envoys got into the city by one of the posterns, and the Turks entered pell-mell with them, and soon made themselves masters of the upper town, which

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* See Chap. xviii. Vol. I.

is separated from the lower. The emperor Constantine was killed in the crowd ; and Mahomet thereupon turned the imperial palace into a palace for himself, and made the cathedral church of St. Sophia a Turkish mosque.

Being thus master, by right of conquest, of one half of Constantinople, he had the humanity or policy to offer the same terms of capitulation to that part, which still held out, as he had proposed to grant to the whole city ; and religiously observed his agreement. This fact is so true, that all the Christian churches of the lower town remained till the reign of his grand-son Selim, who ordered several of them to be demolished. The Turks called them the mosques of Issevi, Issevi being the Turkish name for Jesus. The church of the Greek patriarch is still remaining in Constantinople, on the canal of the Black Sea : and the Ottoman emperors have permitted an academy to be founded in that quarter of the city, where the modern Greeks teach the antient language, now almost entirely disused, the Aristotelian philosophy, divinity, and physic : and in this school were educated Constantine Ducas, Mauro Cordato, and Demetrius Cantemir, afterwards made princes of Transylvania by the Turks. I must acknowledge that Demetrius Cantemir abounds with a great number of old fabulous stories ; but he could not be deceived in relation to the modern monuments, which were before his eyes, nor the academy in which he himself was brought up.

The Christians are still indulged with a church and one street in the city to themselves, in consideration of a Greek architect named Christobulus, whom Mahomet II. employed to build a new mosque upon the ruins of the Holy Apostles, an antient edifice built by the empress Theodora, wife to the emperor Justinian. This architect succeeded so well, that his building proved little inferior in beauty to the famous mosque of St. Sophia. He was also employed by the sultan's orders in building eight public schools, and the same number of hospitals, all belonging to this mosque ; and, as a reward for his services, the sultan granted him the street just mentioned, which still remains in the possession of his family.

It may not perhaps appear a fact worthy a place in history, that an architect was rewarded with the grant of a street ; but it is of some importance to know that the Turks do not always behave in that cruel and brutal manner to Christians which we are apt to imagine they do. Whole nations have been misled by the errors of historians : a number of Oriental writers have asserted that the Turks adored Venus, and denied the providence of a God. Grotius himself tells us after others, that Mahomet, the great false prophet of the Turks, had trained up a pigeon to fly to his ear, and made the people believe that it was the spirit of God, who came to instruct him under that form ; and we find as many ridiculous stories related concerning the great conqueror Mahomet II.

One evident proof that Mahomet was a prince of more knowledge and policy than he is usually supposed to have been, notwithstanding all that cardinal Isidore and others may say to the contrary, is, that he allowed the conquered Christians the liberty of chusing their own patriarch ; he even performed the ceremony of installation himself, with the usual solemnities, and invested him with the crozier and ring, which the emperors of the West had not dared to do for a long time, and departed in no one point from the accustomed ceremony, unless it was in conducting the patriarch elect, Gennadius, to the gate of his palace, who told the sultan on this occasion, " That he was confounded at receiving an honour, which no one of the Christian emperors had ever bestowed upon his predecessors." Since that time the Ottoman emperors have always made one patriarch, who is called the œcumenical patriarch, and the pope another, who is called the Latin patriarch. Each of these patriarchs is taxed by the divan in a certain sum, which he pays as a ransom for his flock. The two churches, tho' groaning alike under the yoke of bondage, are still at irreconcilable enmity with each other ; and the sultans are frequently obliged to interpose their authority, in order to put an end to their disputes ; thus becoming the moderators, as well as conquerors of the Christians.

But

But the Turkish victors have not acted with regard to the Greeks, as they did in the tenth and eleventh centuries by the Arabians, whose language, religion, and customs they adopted, after having conquered them. When the Turks subdued the Arabians, they were at that time utterly barbarous; but when they made the conquest of the Greek empire, the constitution of their government had been long formed. Besides, they had a veneration for the Arabians; but they despised the Greeks, and never had any other intercourse with them than that of masters with their slaves, and still preserved the same customs and laws as at the time of their conquest. The body of Yenghi-Cheris*, or Janissaries, was kept up in full vigour, to the number of forty-five thousand. The soldiers of no nation whatever have such ample allowance as these Janissaries: each oda, or captain, has always a purveyor, who supplies his troops with mutton, rice, butter, pulse, and bread in great plenty.

The Turkish sultans have continued in Europe the ancient customs they practised in Asia, that of rewarding their soldiers with fiefs for life, and some of them hereditary. They did not derive this custom from the Arabian caliphs, whom they conquered; the Arabian government being founded upon different principles. But it was always the custom of the western Tartars to divide the lands of the conquered, and this institution they established in Europe as early as the fifth century, an institution which necessarily attaches the conquerors to a country which is become their inheritance; and those nations who mixed with them, such as the Lombards, the Franks, and the Ottomans, followed the same plan. Tamerlane carried this custom with him into the Indies, where we still find several very powerful lords of fiefs, under the titles of Omras, Rajas, and Nabobs. But the Ottomans gave only small portions of lands to their soldiery, and their zaimats and timariots are rather farms than lordships. This is a truly warlike institution;

* See note on page 248.

institution ; for if a zaim dies in the field, his children share his fief between them ; but if he dies at home, the beglerbeg, that is the captain-general of the province, has a right of disposing of this military benefice. And these zaims and timars, like our antient Franks, claim no privileges of title, jurisdiction, or nobility, but only according to the number of soldiers they furnish or bring into the field.

From the same military school they take all their cadies and mollas, who are the common judges, as likewise the two cadi-leskers of Europe and Asia, who are judges of the provinces and armies, and who, under the musti, have the care of the religion and laws. The musti and the cadi-leskers have always been alike subject to the divan. The dervises, a kind of mendicant monks among the Turks, though grown more numerous of late, still preserve their antient form. The custom of building caravanseras for the convenience of travellers, and schools and hospitals near all the mosques, still subsists. In a word, the Turks are in all things the same people they were, not only when they took Constantinople, but at their first coming into Europe.

C H A P. LXXIX.

The Progress of the TURKS.

DURING a reign of thirty-one years, Mahomet II. proceeded from conquest to conquest, without any of the princes of Europe joining in league against him ; for we cannot give the name of league to the short alliance entered into between John Huniades, prince of Transilvania, the king of Hungary, and a despot of Black Russia. This famous warrior Huniades, gave proofs, that had he been better supported, the Christians would never have lost all these territories which the Turks are now possessed of in Europe.

Three

Three years after the taking of Constantinople, he obliged Mahomet II. to raise the siege of Belgrade.

At the same time also the Persians fell upon the Turks, and turned back that torrent which threatened to overflow all Christendom. Ussum Can, surnamed the White Ram, a descendant of Tamerlane, and governor of Armenia, had lately subdued Persia; he now entered into alliance with the Christians, and this first gave them the hint of uniting together against the common enemy: he married the daughter of David Comnenus, emperor of Trebisonde. It was held unlawful for Christians to marry their godmother or their cousin; but we see that in Greece, Spain, and Asia, they made no scruple of marrying with those of a contrary faith.

The Tartar Ussum-Can, now become son-in-law to the Christian Emperor Comnenus, attacked Mahomet near the Euphrates. This so favourable opportunity for the Christians was again neglected, and they suffered Mahomet, after various successes, to make peace with the Persian, and afterwards to become master of Trebisonde, with a part of Cappadocia annexed to it; to turn his arms upon Greece, and take Negropont; then to march back towards the Black Sea and seize upon Caffa, the antient Theodosia, rebuilt by the Genoese; and afterwards to reduce Scutari, Zant, Cephalonia, and even to push his conquests as far as Trieste in the port of Venice, till at length he fixed the seat of the Mahometan power in the midst of Calabria, from whence he threatened all Italy, and where his lieutenants remained till some time after his death. Rhodes indeed escaped his arms, but the not taking this small island did not make him less formidable to the rest of the West.

He had for a long time conquered Epirus, after the death of Scanderbeg. The Venetians had the courage to oppose his arms, for at this time their power was in its zenith; they had pretty extensive territories upon Terra Firma, their fleets braved those of Mahomet, and they even made themselves masters of Athens; but at length this republic, for want of being properly assisted, was obliged to give way, restore Athens, and purchase by annual tribute the liberty of trading in the Black Sea, hoping

hoping to recover her losses by that commerce, which had laid the first foundation of her grandeur; but we shall see that not long after she sustained more injury from pope Julius II. and almost every one of the Christian princes, than she had done by all the power of the Ottoman arms.

In the mean time Mahomet II. turned his victorious arms against the Mammeluc sultans of Egypt, while his lieutenants were employed in Naples: at length he flattered himself with making the conquest of Rome, as he had done that of Constantinople; and being told one day of the ceremony with which the doge of Venice once a year espouses the Adriatic Ocean, he made answer, that "He would quickly send him to the bottom of that sea, to consummate his nuptials." However, a

violent fit of the cholic delivered the world
 1481 from him at the age of fifty-one. But the Ottomans have nevertheless remained in possession of a far more beautiful country in Europe than even the whole of Italy, and the birth-place of Leonidas, Miltiades, Alexander, Sophocles, and Plato, sunk beneath a barbarous yoke. From that time the Greek language became corrupted, and there remained hardly any traces of the arts; for notwithstanding there was a Greek academy at Constantinople, it was certainly very different from that of Athens; and not the six thousand monks, which the Ottoman sultans permit to live upon mount Athos, have yet been able to revive the liberal arts in this empire. Formerly this very city of Constantinople was under the protection of Athens, and the province of Chalcedonia was tributary to it; and the king of Thrace sued for the honour of being admitted as one of its citizens. At present the descendents of the old Tartars are masters of these beautiful regions, and the name of Greece is become in a manner extinct. Nevertheless, we shall always hold the little city of Athens in higher veneration than the Turkish power, was it to spread over the whole earth.

The Greeks remained in a state of oppression, but not of slavery; they were left the exercise of their religion and laws, and the Turks behaved to them as the Arabi-

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ans had done to the people of Spain. The Greek families still continue to live peaceably in their native country, though in obscurity and contempt; they pay but a slight tribute, and employ themselves in trade and agriculture; their towns and villages still continue to have their Protogeros, who decides their differences, and their patriarch is supported in an honourable manner by them. He must certainly have a considerable revenue, since upon his installation he is obliged to pay four thousand ducats into the sultan's treasury, and the like sum to the officers of the Porte.

The greatest mark of subjection the Greeks labour under is, that of being obliged to furnish the sultans with a number of children to serve in their seraglios, or in their Janissary militia. Every father of a family is obliged to give one of his sons, or purchase his freedom with a fine. There are still certain Christian provinces in Europe, where it is become an established custom to set apart one of their children from the birth, to carry arms. The children given to the Turkish sultans are brought up in the seraglio, where they frequently make very great fortunes. Nor is their condition among the Janissaries to be despised. It is a strong proof of the force of education, and the extraordinary changes in this world, that most of these haughty enemies to the Christian name, were born of oppressed Christians; and a still more lively proof of that invincible fatality, by which the supreme Being links together all the events of the universe, is, that the emperor Constantine should have built Constantinople for the Turks, as Romulus had so many ages before laid the foundation of the Capitol for the heads of the Christian church.

And here I think myself obliged to refute one false notion, namely, that the Turkish government is of that absurd form called despotic; that the people are all slaves to their sultans; that they have no property of their own, but are in their lives and fortunes wholly at the mercy of their masters. Such an administration must necessarily destroy itself. It would be very extraordinary that the conquered Greeks should not be slaves, and that their conquerors should. Some travellers

vellers have supposed that a sultan was lord of all the lands in his empire, because he disposed of certain timariots (or estates for life) as the kings of France formerly bestowed military fiefs; but these gentlemen should consider, that there are laws of inheritance in Turkey as well as in all other countries*.

It is true, that all the moveable effects, belonging to a pacha at the time of his demise, fall to the sultan, who usually gives a part of them to his family; but it was an established custom in Europe at the time when fiefs were not hereditary, and long after, for bishops to inherit the moveables of the inferior clergy; and the popes claimed the same right on the estates of cardinals, and all others possessed of church livings, who died within the residence of the chief pontiff.

The Turks are not only all of them free†, but they have not even the distinction of nobility among them, and are strangers to any other superiority than that of employs in the state.

They are in their manners at once fierce, haughty, and effeminate; their ferocity they derive from their ancestors the Scythians, and their effeminacy from Greece and Asia. Their pride is beyond all bounds. They are conquerors and they are ignorant; this makes them despise all other nations.

The form of the Ottoman government is not like that of France and Spain, monarchical and gently authoritative; it still less resembles that of Germany, which in length of time is become a republic of princes and cities, under one supreme head called an emperor. It has nothing of the Polish form of administration, where the peasants are all slaves, and the nobles kings. Lastly, it is as different from that of England in its constitution as in its climate.

And yet we are not to imagine that it is altogether an arbitrary government, where the law permits a single person

* We wish the author had explained these laws.

† In what sense can a man be said to be free, whose life and property lie at the mercy of a rapacious bashaw and a despotic sovereign?

person to sacrifice the lives of thousands to his caprice, like so many beasts kept in a park for his diversion.

We are apt, through prejudice, to believe that a chiaoux may go with a staff in his hand, and demand, in the name of the sultan, of the master of a family, all the money he has by him, and his daughters, for the use of his master. There are doubtless several horrible abuses in the Turkish administration: but in general these abuses are much less fatal to the people than to those who have a share in the government; for these chiefly feel the weight of the despotic authority. The private sentence of a divan is sufficient to strike off the heads of the greatest officers of state upon the most trifling suspicions, there being no supreme court established in this country to enforce a respect for the laws and the person of the anointed sovereign; no barrier opposed in the constitution of the state to the injustice or mal-administration of a vizier; therefore few resources for the subject when oppressed, or the monarch when resisted; and this prince, who passes for the most powerful in the world, is of all others the least firmly settled on his throne. The revolution of a single day is frequently sufficient to snatch the crown from him; and in this the Turks have imitated the manners of the Greek empire which they conquered, only they have more respect for the Ottoman family than the Greeks had for that of their emperors; they depose, they murder their sultan, but it is always in favour of the nearest relation; the Greek empire, on the contrary, has passed by assassinations into twenty different families.

The fear of being deposed is a stronger curb upon the Turkish sultan, than all the laws of the alcoran; and, though absolute master in his own seraglio, and of the lives of all his officers by means of the musti's fetfa, he cannot alter the customs of the empire, he cannot encrease the taxes, nor can he touch the public money*;

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* Is not this childish cavilling? Who are the persons that raise taxes, touch the money, &c.? Who but his divan, his vizier, and his testerdar, miserable slaves that depend upon the breath of his nostrils;

he has his private treasury entirely distinct and apart from the public one.

The condition of sultan is, in general, the most indolent upon earth, as that of grand-vizier is the most laborious. This minister is obliged to act at the same time as constable, chancellor, and chief-president, and the reward for all his labours is frequently exile or the bowstring.

The office of *Bashaw* is altogether as dangerous, and many of them are known to have ended their days by a violent death. But all this only proves that the people in Turkey had contracted a habit of cruelty and fierceness, the same as prevailed for a considerable time among the Christians themselves throughout Europe, when so many heads were lost upon the scaffold; when *La Brosse*, the favourite of *St. Lewis*, was hanged; when the prime minister, *Laguette*, died upon the rack in the reign of *Charles the Fair*; when *Charles de la Cerda*, constable of France, was put to death by king *John* without form of trial; when *Angueran de Marigni* was hanged upon the same gallows which he himself had ordered to be erected at *Montfaucon*; and the dead body of the prime minister, *Montaign*, was carried and hung upon the same gibbet; in a word, when the grand master of the knights templars expired in the midst of the flames, and numberless cruelties of the same kind were common in monarchical governments. We should greatly deceive ourselves then, if we were to suppose that those barbarities were the effects of absolute power. There never was any one of the Christian potentates despotic, nor is the grand seignior so. Several sultans, as *Mahomet II.* *Selim*, and *Solyman*, have indeed made the laws give way to their wills. But how few conquerors meet with contradiction from their subjects? In a word, our historians have grossly imposed upon

nostrils; slaves whom he every day orders to be strangled, according to his convenience or caprice; and no subject dares to murmur at their fate.

upon us in representing the Ottoman empire, as a government whose essence is despotism †.

The count de Marfigli, who knows more of the matter than any of them, expresses himself thus: "In almost all our histories we find the authority exercised by the sultans, represented as highly despotic; but how distant is this from the truth ‡!" The Janissary militia, adds he, which they call *Capiculi*, and which always resides in Constantinople, has by its laws the power of imprisoning the sultan, and even of putting him to death, and appointing a successor in his room ||. A little further he says that the grand seignior is frequently obliged to consult the political and military part of the state before he can make war or peace.

Neither are the bashaws so absolute in their provinces as we in general believe, but depend upon their divan. The chief citizens have a right to complain of their conduct, and present their remonstrances to the great divan of Constantinople. In fine, Marfigli concludes by giving the Turkish government the title of a democracy. It is such in fact, and much resembling

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† If any government can be essentially despotic, it must be that of Turkey, where the sovereign is restricted by no engagement; where the *vox tyranni* is the *suprema lex*: where there is neither family, distinction, order, nor institution, to question or curb the prerogative; where every subject is trained up to the most abject submission; and even the bashaw taught to kiss the bow-string by which he is strangled, without presuming to enquire into the nature of his offence.

‡ *In tutte le nostre storie s'altano esaltar la sovranità, che così despoticamente praticasi dal sultano: ma quanto si scostano elle del vero!*

|| We would ask from whence they derive this privilege? for we have already seen how this body was instituted in the reign of Amurath: Did he at that period give them a power to imprison and dethrone himself? the supposition is absurd. The liberty which the Janissaries have taken more than once to dethrone and murder their prince, is no more founded on law, than is the action of a ruffian who robs and murders his master. They do it at the hazard of being sacrificed by the next sultan; and the streets of Constantinople have been often filled with the carcases of those insolent soldiers, who have been privately strangled in the night by order of the grand seignior.

that of Tunis and Algiers†. These mighty sultans then, whom the common people dare not look upon, and whose persons are not to be approached but with a submission which seems to border upon adoration; these sultans, I say, have only the exterior of despotism, and are really absolute no longer than they can safely exercise that fury of arbitrary power which seems born with all men. Lewis XI. Henry VIII. and Sextus V. were as despotic princes as any sultan whatever.

If we were to go on to examine in the same manner into the secrets of the sovereign authority in the other kingdoms of Asia, which are still in a manner unknown to us, we should find much less despotism in the world than we in general imagine. Even in Europe we have seen princes, the vassals of other princes not absolute, assume a greater degree of arbitrary power in their own dominions than was ever exercised by the emperors of Persia or India: and yet it would be very erroneous to suppose, that the dominions of such princes were by their constitution essentially despotic.

All the histories of modern nations, excepting perhaps those of England and Germany, have given us false notions of things; because they have rarely distinguished between times and persons, abuses and laws, accidental events and established customs.

We should again be deceived, if we were to look upon the Turkish government as an uniform administration, and that every day the sultan can from his seraglio, by his couriers, dispatch the same orders to all the different provinces

† The resemblance here we cannot at all perceive, except that the government of Algier is Turkish. The succession at Constantinople is hereditary, and was never known to deviate from one family. The deyship of Algier is elective from the number of ten thousand. If the grand seignior has the precaution to murder all the males of his family, a piece of policy often practised at the Ottoman court, he runs no risk at all of being deposed, because there would not be a person in Turkey to fill up his room, and the empire would of course be involved in anarchy and ruin. If a dey of Algiers is murdered, there are nine thousand nine hundred and ninety nine candidates for his office, and each of these is capable of being chosen. The grand seignior is a despotic emperor: the dey of Algiers a limited magistrate.

provinces in his dominions. This vast empire, which has been formed at different times, and by successive victories, and which we shall find continually encreasing till the eighteenth century, is composed of a thousand different nations, all of them different in language, religion and customs. They are Greeks from the antient Ionia, the coasts of Asia Minor and Achaia, inhabitants of the ancient Colchis, and of the Taurica Chersonesus; they are Getæ become Christians, known by the names of Walachians and Moldavians; they are Arabs, Armenians, Bulgarians, Illyrians, and Jews; lastly, they are Egyptians, and the descendents from the people of antient Carthage, whom we shall presently see swallowed up by the Ottoman power. And all these different nations have been conquered and kept in subjection by the Turkish militia alone. They are all governed differently: some have princes set over them, who are nominated by the Porte; such as Walachia, Moldavia, and Crimea. The Greeks live under a municipal government, dependent upon a bashaw. The number of the conquered is immense, if compared with that of the victors; for there are but very few natural born Turks; none of these follow agriculture, and a very inconsiderable number apply themselves to the arts. It may be said of them, as Virgil heretofore said of the Romans, "Their art is to conquer and command." The chief difference between the Turkish and the antient Roman conquerors is, that Rome incorporated all the nations she conquered, whereas the Turks always keep themselves separate from those they have subdued, and in the midst of whom they live.

There remained indeed three hundred thousand Greeks in Constantinople, after that city was taken; but these were only artificers or tradesmen, who worked for their new masters, a people wholly under subjection in their own capital, and not permitted even to dress like the Turks.

To this observation let me add another, namely, that this vast tract of country, from the Archipelago to the Euphrates, was conquered by one single power; whereas, the united powers of twenty potentates in the crusades,

fades, with more than twenty times the number of forces, were not able, after the labours of two whole centuries, to establish one lasting state in these same countries.

Ricault, who resided a considerable time in Turkey, attributes the lasting power of the Ottoman empire, "To something supernatural." He cannot otherwise conceive that this government, which depends so frequently upon the caprice of the Janissaries, could have supported itself against the turbulence of its own soldiers and the attacks of its enemies. But to this we may reply, that the Roman empire supported itself five hundred years in Rome, and near fourteen centuries in the Levant, in the midst of seditions and tumults; and though the imperial succession has been frequently changed, the throne has still remained the same. Now the Turks have a veneration for the Ottoman race, which is to them a fundamental law that they can never think of violating: the government has been frequently wrested out of the hands of the sultan; but, as we have already remarked, it never passes into a strange family. The constitution itself then has nothing to fear, tho' the monarch and his viziers are frequently made to tremble.

Hitherto this empire has defied all foreign invasions. The Persians have rarely penetrated into the Turkish frontiers: on the contrary, we shall see sultan Amurath IV. taking Bagdat from the Persians by assault, in 1638, remaining still master of Mesopotamia, and at the same time assisting the grand mogul with one army against the Persians, and at the same time threatening Venice with another. The Germans never yet shewed themselves at the gates of Constantinople, as the Turks have at those of Vienna: and it is only since the reign of Peter the Great, that the Russians became formidable to Turkey. In fine, force and cruelty first established the Ottoman empire, and the divisions of Christians have helped to support it. There is nothing in all this but what is natural. We shall see how this empire augmented its power, and persevered for a long time in its ferocity of manners, which at length began to grow somewhat milder.

END of the SECOND VOLUME.



